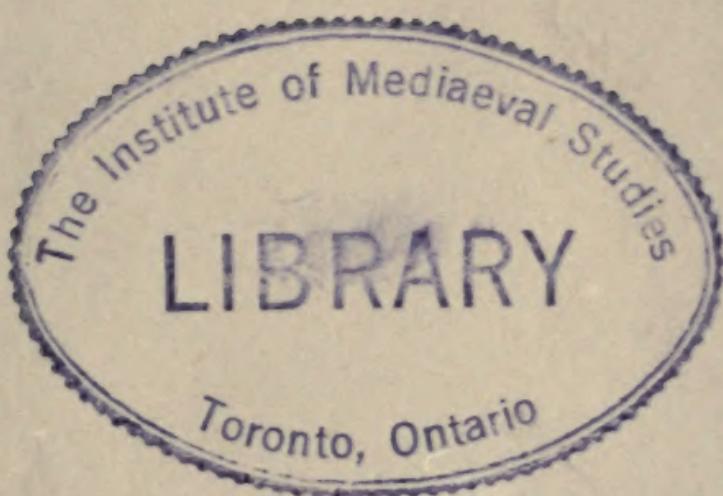


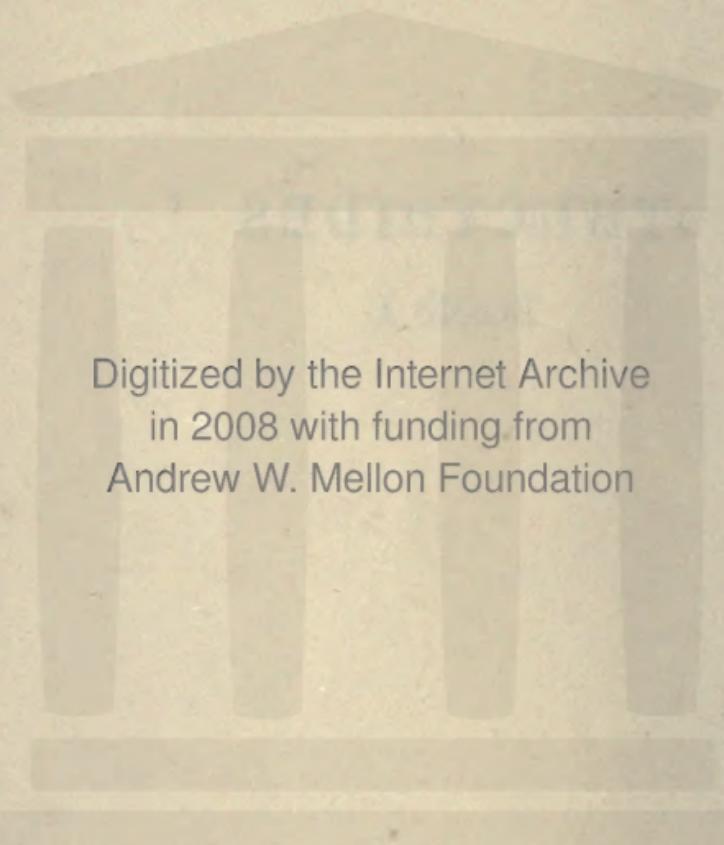
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THUCYDIDES
BOOK I



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THUCYDIDES

BOOK I

EDITED BY

E. C. MARCHANT, M.A.

FELLOW AND TUTOR OF LINCOLN COLLEGE, OXFORD

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BOOK I

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but always had it in mind and knew myself
well enough not to allow that old bias to affect
my judgment. From old knowledge I
had had a high regard for the author ; when old
and new knowledge had made a uniform
impression on my mind, I had made a
change from him and had
written to say that my judgment
had altered.

PREFACE

THE Greek text of this book I. is reprinted, by kind permission, from that of Mr. Stuart Jones in the Oxford series. Some years ago I prepared a text ; but, on comparing the Oxford text with my own, I found that mine seldom differed from it, and it seemed better to follow the new text as it stands, merely noting the few passages in which I am unable to agree with Mr. Stuart Jones. For the permission so readily accorded I tender my best thanks.

Fifteen years have passed since the first instalment of this school edition was published. It was intended to include books I., II., III., and the Sicilian Expedition. In this long period blind admiration of the author has sobered down into a clearer appreciation, as I hope, both of his greatness and of his defects. I do not think now that the adverse portions of Dionysius' criticism can be dismissed as absurd. Where he goes wrong, he is misled by his rhetorical instinct, as when he makes the startling statement that the

Proem would have been better if it had consisted of the head and the tail without the body. This is perhaps about the most disturbing thing that he says ; and, after all, if Thucydides had been making a speech, even that criticism would have been quite true. Dionysius did not understand how history should be written ; but he did most thoroughly understand the qualities of the austere style in composition ; and he appreciated the best qualities of Thucydides on the artistic side—his consummate power in narrative, his fertile invention in the speeches, his dignity and unsurpassed pathos. Modern editors, even Poppe, owe a debt to him that they do not always acknowledge.

In the introduction to this book I have only attempted to suggest lines of thought or investigation ; and so I have touched on those points that seem to me, at least, to be the most interesting. In writing the notes, my sole object has been to arrive at a clear understanding of the text myself, and to present what I take to be the meaning as clearly as possible and in a simple form. I could wish that my notes might be thought illuminating ; but have no ambition whatever that any one should think them learned.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION—	
I. Life of Thucydides	ix
II. Predecessors and Contemporaries of Thucydides	xiii
III. Analysis of the First Book (after Poppe)	xviii
IV. Mind and Style	xxxviii
V. The Speeches	xliii
VI. Manuscripts and Texts	xlix
TEXT	1
NOTES	133
INDEX—Greek	273
English	279

INTRODUCTION

I. LIFE OF THUCYDIDES

THE sources of information about his life are:—

1. *References to himself* in the Histories. Owing to his reserved and impersonal manner these references are but few.

2. *Traditions.*

(a) Three ancient 'biographies,' two of which are found in some MSS. of the Histories, while the third is in the lexicon of Suidas. Of the first two the longer is ascribed to an unknown Marcellinus¹; but it consists of three separate parts by different writers arbitrarily joined together, perhaps in the sixth cent. A.D. The shorter life, which is anonymous, adds nothing of moment, and is a mere collection of excerpts. The writer confuses the historian with Thucydides son of Melesias. Suidas uses good

¹ Schumann, *de Marcellini quae dicitur vita Thucydidea* (Colmar 1879), points out inconsistencies between §§ 26 and 46, §§ 53 and 56, §§ 31-33 and 46, 56. Of the three parts the first ends at § 44, the second at § 53. It is assumed that the first part is by Marcellinus, and his date is placed by some in the third, by others in the fifth, cent. A.D. Marcellinus cites good authorities, e.g. Hellanicus, Androton, Philochorus, Demetrius of Phalerum, Hermippus, Polemon; but it is thought that he did not know these authors at first-hand.

authorities, but he too gives little that is not found in 'Marcellinus.'

(b) Statements about Thucydides' family, his death, and his tomb are found in Plutarch's *Life of Cimon* c. 4.

(c) A statement about his recall from exile and assassination occurs in Pausanias i. 23.

1. What we know of Thucydides from his own statements is as follows:—

He was the son of an Athenian citizen named Olorus. He had an interest in Athenian gold-mines in Thrace. He was in the full vigour of life, during the Peloponnesian War (431–404 B.C.), and was engaged throughout the period on his history. He suffered from the plague at Athens (430–428 B.C.). In 424 he was one of the ten strategi, and commanded a squadron off the coast of Thrace. He failed to relieve Amphipolis, which was pressed by Brasidas; but he succeeded in saving Eion. From 423 to 403 B.C. he was in exile—presumably in consequence of the loss of Amphipolis. During his exile he was able to observe all that was done by both sides.

From these facts we may draw the following inferences:—The youth and early manhood of Thucydides were passed during the period of Pericles' supremacy. We know from his book that he felt a profound admiration for Pericles as the *πρώτος ἀνήρ*, though we should judge from his attitude towards the Athenian democracy that he cannot have approved of all Pericles' internal administration. The life of Pericles closed in 429 B.C. But alike in style and opinion Thucydides belongs always to the Periclean era.¹ Partly in consequence of his exile, and partly

¹ So far as concerns opinions, the fact is much the same with Sophocles, who lived till 406 B.C.

as the result of his detached, independent habit of thought, he remained outside the current of Athenian politics, and he was unaffected by the rapid progress of Attic style and thought. Thucydides wrote at a time when Attic prose was not yet fully developed; and during the long period of his exile he was shut out from participation in the intellectual life of Athens. Consequently he owes nothing to any one whose *floruit* falls later than the peace of Nicias, unless we except Antiphon, who equally with him belonged to the older school. It is difficult to realise that Lysias and Isocrates were already before the public when Thucydides was still writing.¹

2. As for the three 'biographies,' their claims to authenticity have been disposed of by Petersen² and Wilamowitz.³ All three consist of inferences drawn from the statements of Thucydides himself, from the unfinished condition in which he left his work, and from his style. One other important piece of evidence was available, and was used for at least as much as it was worth. The grave of Thucydides stood hard by those of Cimon and his sister Elpinice in the quarter called Κοίλη, lying SW. of the Acropolis, and was seen by Plutarch there (*Cimon* 4). On the grave was the inscription Θουκυδίδης Ὀλόρου 'Αλιμούσιος ἐνθάδε κεῖται. From the inscription and the locality of his grave we know that he belonged to the deme Halimus, on the coast between Phalerum and Colias, and we may safely infer that his father Olorus must have been nearly connected with a

¹ Dionysius naturally connects Pindar, Aeschylus, Antiphon, and Thucydides as representative of the 'austere' style. See Jebb, *Attic Orators* i. 22.

² *De vita Thucydidis disputatio*, Dorpat 1873.

³ 'Die Thukydid slegende,' *Hermes* 12 p. 326.

Thracian prince of that name, whose daughter Hegesipyle was married to the great Miltiades and became mother of Cimon. The latter inference is stated as a fact by Plutarch, and may be accepted as such. More doubtful is the statement of Pausanias, that a decree for the recall of Thucydides from exile was carried on the motion of one Oenobius. It happens that the names Oenobius and Eucles occur as those of father and son. A strategus named Eucles was in command with Thucydides on the Thracian coast; and it has been plausibly suggested that the Oenobius who proposed the recall of Thucydides was son of this strategus.

II. PREDECESSORS AND CONTEMPORARIES OF THUCYDIDES

1. It is true that Thucydides began to write before Attic prose style was completely developed, and that for the rules of composition—the grammar, as they say, of style—he is indebted to Gorgias, Antiphon, and Prodicus, and perhaps in a less degree to his own study of the poets. As regard peculiarities of his syntax, it is a mistake to suppose that his freedom is accounted for by calling him 'a primitive.' It is not true that he lived 'before the age of grammar' in any other sense than the statement is true of Xenophon or of any other of the classical writers. Of course Thucydides is answerable for his own manner of writing. That his genius was unique, without predecessor and not to be imitated, is best realised by comparing with his work the first two books of the *Hellenica*, in which Xenophon evidently meant to write like him. Xenophon is a writer possessed of great and varied talents; but he is altogether unequal to the task of writing in the manner of his great predecessor¹; and where so accomplished a man failed it is not to be supposed that any one else would have succeeded.

¹ Of course mere slavish copyists of Thucydides need not be considered.

2. The following dates will help us to understand where Thucydides comes in the history of Greek literature :—

(a) For *tragedy*, three convenient dates are—

B.C. 468, the first victory of Sophocles, aged 28.

458, production of the *Oresteia*, the last work of Aeschylus.

448, production of the *Alcestis* of Euripides, say half a century before Thucydides ceased writing.

(b) *Rhetoric and Sophistic* ; here we may notice—

465, the rise of Rhetoric at Syracuse. Corax writes the first *τέχνη*, or treatise on Rhetoric, and distinguishes the parts proper to a speech—*introduction, discussion, peroration* (probably also *narration*, which follows the introduction).

455 onwards, *floruit* of Protagoras, the founder of the study of grammar.

435 onwards, *floruit* of Prodicus, first to lay stress on precision in the use of words.

427, Gorgias of Leontini visits Athens (perhaps not his first visit).

417, earliest extant speech of Antiphon (but he was born c. 480).

3. That Thucydides was well acquainted with the works of earlier writers on history we know from several statements of his : e.g. c. 97 *τοῖς πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἀπαστιν ἐκλιπὲς τοῦτο ἦν τὸ χωρίον κτλ.* The opinion that he had formed of his predecessors was not high :—

(a) They possessed no critical faculty, and accepted traditions without taking the trouble to investigate their truth, c. 20.

(b) They were too anxious to please their audience, c. 21.

(c) They did not exclude myths, c. 22, 4.

4. Of these predecessors only Hellanicus¹ of Mitylene is mentioned by name. Referring to his *Αττικὴ ἔνγγραφή* Thucydides remarks (c. 97) that his account of the period between the Persian and the Peloponnesian wars lacked chronological exactitude. In style he did not differ from the many other Ionian 'logographers' who lived earlier than or about the same time as himself. They all wrote simply, without artificial ornament, but with a certain attractive naïveté, to which Dionysius attributes the survival of their works to his own time. The scanty fragments of Hellanicus show that he touched on many matters that are mentioned also by Thucydides. The only other historical writer before Herodotus who is important to us is Hecataeus of Miletus, author of *Genealogies*² and a *Description of the Earth*. He was born about 540 B.C., and lived through the Persian wars. He was a great traveller; he treated the myths already in a rationalising spirit; and his style was clear and at times graceful.

5. *Herodotus and Thucydides.*

(a) Though Thucydides nowhere mentions Herodotus, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that he was acquainted with his history.³ Two of the errors corrected in i. c. 20 occur in Herodotus. The account of Cylon's conspiracy in c. 126, 7 is an amplified and corrected version of Herodotus v. 71,

¹ The quantity of the *i* in the name is doubtful.

² Compare the opening words of his *Genealogies*, quoted by Demetrius: 'Hecataeus of Miletus speaks as follows: I write these things as they seem true to me; for the accounts of the Greeks are many, and, as it seems to me, ridiculous.'

³ The arguments of Dahlmann, K. O. Müller, and others of the older critics have been abundantly refuted by Krüger, Lemcke, etc.

the conduct of the Alcmaeonidae being put in a less favourable light by Thucydides. As regards the corrections made in c. 20: they are (1) The idea that each of the Spartan kings gave two votes—this comes in Herod. vi. 57; the text there may mean that the kings jointly gave two votes, and not that each voted twice. (2) that a *Πιτανάτης λόχος* exists in Sparta—this is in Herod. ix. 53, who may have meant that the *λόχος* was a body raised only on one occasion, and not a permanent unit of the army.

The other mistake, namely that Hipparchus was older than Hippias and was actually tyrant at the time of his murder does *not* occur in Herodotus. He narrates the famous events in v. 55 f., but his version of the story tallies with Thucydides so far as the seniority and position of Hippias are concerned.

(b) *The Pentecontaetia* (c. 89) begins just where Herodotus leaves off, and this can scarcely be a coincidence.

(c) Sparta demanded that Athens should 'drive out the curse.' Thucydides explains that this is an allusion to the attempt of Cylon to seize the tyranny, and he relates the story of the attempt. Athens retaliated by calling on Sparta to drive out her 'curse'; and this demand gives occasion to Thucydides to relate, at greater length than his ostensible purpose required, the treason and fate of Pausanias. This passage may very well have been intended to supplement Herodotus, whose history does not extend so far. The appendix about Themistocles (see below p. xxxii) in one aspect fulfils a similar object. But it is also intended, in all probability, as a correction. Herodotus belittles the

services of Themistocles to Athens and to Greece,¹ and he emphasises the weak points in his moral character; he failed, in short, to appreciate Themistocles. Thucydides had not the moral bias of Herodotus. Faults of character he does not disguise; but they do not lead him to underestimate a man's intellectual greatness.

(d) On the famous sentence *κτῆμα ἐσ αἰεὶ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγώνισμα* *ἐσ τὸ παραχρῆμα ἀκούειν* ξίγκειται the Scholiast remarks *αἰνίττεται τὰ Μηδικὰ Ἡροδότου*, 'a hint at the Persian wars of Herodotus.'

Lucian also states that Thucydides intended a criticism of Herodotus in this passage. Dionysius on the contrary considers that the *λογογράφοι* are meant; but it is not unlikely that Thucydides regarded Herodotus as one of these. What accounts for a criticism so unjust to Herodotus is that the two writers regard history from a wholly different standpoint. Philosophy and epic have never found each other congenial company.

¹ See especially Stein's note on Herod. viii. 4; and cf. the note on c. 14 § 3 below.

III. ANALYSIS OF THE FIRST BOOK (AFTER POPPO)

i. Προοίμιον, cc. 1–23 :—

1. The reason for writing this history : the war was ἀξιολογώτατος τῶν προγεγενημένων.
2. Importance of this war : proof drawn from a comparison of the early condition of Greece
 - (a) before τὰ Τρωϊκά, cc. 2–8.
 - (b) during τὰ „, cc. 9–11.
 - (c) after τὰ „, cc. 12–19.

(Cf. Schol. on c. 12 τριχῶς διεῖλε τὴν ἀρχαιολογίαν, εἰς τὰ πρὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν, εἰς αὐτὰ τὰ Τρωϊκά, εἰς τὰ ἔχόμενα αὐτῶν.)

3. Men too readily accept the accounts of poets and annalists, and admire τὰ ἀρχαῖα : character of the period, and the manner in which it is dealt with.

ii. *Causes of the war*, cc. 24–65; 88–118.

A. Causes alleged, cc. 24–66.

1. τὰ Κερκυραϊκά, cc. 24–55.

- (a) War between Corinth and Coreyra, cc. 24–31.

- (b) *Speech of Corcyrean ambassador at Athens*, cc. 32–36.

- (c) *Speech of Corinthian in reply*, c. 37–43.

- (d) Intervention of Athens in the war, cc. 43–55.

2. Ποτειδαίας ἀπόστασις, cc. 56–65.

- (a) Corinth sends help to Potidaea, c. 60.
- (b) Athenian victory over Potidaeans and a Peloponnesian force, cc. 62, 63.
- (c) Potidaea invested, cc. 64, 65.

iii. A. The Lacedaemonians decide on war.

- (a) Congress at Sparta, cc. 66, 67.
- (b) *Speech of the Corinthian envoy*, cc. 68–71.
- (c) *Speech of Athenian* in reply, cc. 72–78.
- (d) *Speech of Archidamus*, cc. 79–85.
- (e) *Speech of Stheneluidas*, c. 86.
- (f) Vote of the Lacedaemonians, c. 87.

ii. *Causes of the war.*

B. The true cause was the growth of Athenian power and the envy it excited, cc. 88–118.

1. Origin of the Athenian power, cc. 88–96.
2. Development „ „ cc. 97–118.

iii. B. The Peloponnesian confederacy decides on war.

- (a) Second congress at Sparta, c. 119.
- (b) *Speech of the Corinthian envoy*, cc. 120–124.
- (c) Vote of the confederates, c. 125.

ii. C. *Negotiations preceding the war.*

1. τὸ Κυλώνειον ἄγος, cc. 126, 127.
2. τὸ ἀπὸ Ταυράρον καὶ τὸ τῆς Χαλκιοίκου ἄγος, cc. 128–134.

- (a) Treason and death of Pausanias, cc. 128–134.
- (b) Flight and death of Themistocles, cc. 135–137.

3. Other demands of the Lacedaemonians.

iii. C. The Athenians decide on war, c. 140–end.

- (a) Speech of Pericles, cc. 140–144.
- (b) Vote of the Assembly, and its effect, cc. 145, 146.

Note on Analysis of the Proem.—The period of Greek history that Thucydides contrasts with the Peloponnesian War and considers insignificant is denoted by the words *τὰ πρὸ αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ἔτι παλαιότερα* (c. 1). In the following chapters it is clearly implied that under this period he includes (a) *τὰ πρὸ τῶν Τρωϊκῶν* (c. 3); (b) *τὰ Τρωϊκά* (c. 4); (c) *τὰ μετὰ τὰ Τρωϊκά* (c. 12). It is clear that the last phrase is not meant to take in the years between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars. For Thucydides was of opinion that the history of all these periods was obscure and difficult to discover (c. 1, § 2); and this was certainly not his opinion about the history of the years that separated the battle of Plataea from the Peloponnesian War, which he has himself described in the *Pentecontaetia*. But are the Persian wars included in the 'obscure' and 'insignificant' period? Probably not. Though the Persian wars form the subject of c. 18, an attentive reading will show that this passage (c. 18) stands outside the main line of the argument, and forms a sort of appendix to what has preceded, quite after the manner of Thucydides, who is much given to after-thoughts.¹ The argument that has run through all the Proem down to c. 17 is dismissed for the time being in the last sentence of that chapter—*οὕτω πανταχόθεν ἡ Ἑλλὰς κατείχετο κτλ.* It will be noticed also that nothing is said about the relative insignificance of the Persian wars in c. 18. If Thucydides meant to include them in the period described as *τὰ μετὰ τὰ Τρωϊκά*, the absence of any such reference would be inexplicable. At c. 23 he recurs to the Persian wars, and here only he points out (a) that the struggle with Xerxes was

¹ Compare, for example, the relation of the passage in which the last years of Themistocles are described to what precedes it.

the greatest effort of the Greeks before the Peloponnesian War, and (b) that even that struggle, in certain definite respects, does not compare with this war.¹

i. The *Exordium* (*Προοίμιον*),² cc. 1–23.

1. The name Ἀρχαιολογία is often given to cc. 2–23. This name occurs in the scholium on c. 12. Dionysius (*περὶ τοῦ Θουκ. χαρακτῆρος* c. 20) hazards the startling criticism that it would have been better if the whole of the ἀρχαιολογία (cc. 2–21 init.) had been omitted: after οὗτε ἐσ τὰ ἄλλα (c. 1 end) Thucydides should have continued οὗτε ὡς ποιητὰ ἴμικασι etc. (c. 21). This criticism does not mean that Dionysius undervalued the ἀρχαιολογία. In the preceding chapter he well describes the *Exordium* as *ἱστορία τις αὐτὴ καθ' αὐτήν*. But all his criticism of Thucydides is for us vitiated because it is written entirely from the standpoint of a rhetorician. From the rhetorical standpoint a large part of the *Exordium* really is irrelevant; for the object of the exordium in oratory is to secure the goodwill of the audience and, if need be, to indicate the subject³ of the speech.

2. Echoes of the Ἀρχαιολογία⁴ are heard in several ancient authors. Though Aristotle nowhere

¹ This note was written without knowledge of Herbst's article in *Philologus* 38; he argues (a) that τὰ παλαιά occupy cc. 2–17, and (b) that the adverse criticism in cc. 20–22 applies only to the writers who dealt with τὰ παλαιά, and thus he excludes Herodotus from the authors to whom the adverse criticism applies. In his first point I believe that he is right.

² The title *προοίμιον* occurs first in Dionysius (reign of Augustus), and is applied also by Lucian.

³ Contrast the praise that Dionysius bestows on the *προοίμια* of Lysias because they are entirely *προσήκοντα* (*de Lys.* c. 17).

⁴ Schrader, *de archaeologiae Thuc. apud veteres auctoritate*, Hamburg 1891.

mentions Thucydides by name, many passages in his works show that he was well acquainted with the Proem—and this fact lends additional importance to the differences in the accounts given of Harmodius and Aristogeiton in c. 19 and *Ath. Pol.* c. 18. Aristotle does not accept a statement made in the *Αρχαιολογία* without independent investigation. Thus Thucydides (c. 11) speaks of the wall built by the Greeks round Troy (see *Iliad* vii. 436 f. *ποτὶ δὲ τοῦτον τεῖχος ἔδειμαν κτλ.*); whereas Aristotle declared that this wall was a fiction! Probably, however, Thucydides was really thinking here of some other wall, built at some time long anterior to that at which the action of the *Iliad* begins. Several passages in the *Politics* take us back to Thucydides (see note on c. 6 § 1; *Pol.* p. 1285 b; 1271 a; 1311 a). The only other writers of the first rank who are known to have made use of the *Αρχαιολογία* are Sallust and Lucian.

3. The historian's purpose is not to give a summary of early Greek history, but to bring out the transcendent greatness of this war by contrasting with it the previous doings of the Greeks. Hence we have here a compressed philosophy of early history rather than history proper. From the knowledge that he had gathered from poets and 'logographers' and increased by personal observation, he has by reflexion extracted the lesson that he seeks to convey. Thucydides is a philosopher as well as a historian. Having a passion for truth, he omits nothing that is part of the war, however trifling. But when an event has no significance from the philosopher's standpoint, he narrates it in a summary fashion, and lapses into the bare manner of an annalist. Dionysius finds fault with him for

dwelling on some events at undue length, and passing rapidly over others. The explanation of this seeming disproportion is that it is not on the mere occurrence that Thucydides will lavish all his powers. He selects for full treatment what is somehow typical or illustrative of opinion, of a people, or of a movement. Even the most splendid descriptions, the parts of his history that every one remembers, such as the plague at Athens, the troubles at Coreyra, the departure of the fleet for Sicily, the last battle in the Great Harbour, are intended not for pleasure but for edification: these are events importing something, they 'end in a moral'¹ which, however, is more often implied by the writer than expressed.

4. *The Subject.*—What Dionysius says about this is to the following effect:² 'The first, and one may say the most necessary, task for writers of history is to choose a noble subject, and one pleasing to their readers. In this Herodotus seems to me to have succeeded better than Thucydides. He has produced a national history of the conflict of Greeks and barbarians . . . Thucydides, on the other hand, writes of a single war, and that neither glorious nor fortunate; one which, best of all, should not have happened, or (failing that) should have been ignored by posterity, and confined to silence and oblivion.' This criticism suffers from the defect that mars all Dionysius' work on Thucydides: it is written from the rhetorician's standpoint, not from the historian's. Little is to be gained, in any case, from a comparison of two histories in respect of their subject matter; but it must

¹ Thuc. would scarcely have assented to the well-known dictum in Aristotle's *Poetics*, that Poetry is *more philosophical* than History.

² The translation follows Prof. Rhys Roberts' version.

certainly be conceded that Herodotus had by far the fairer (*καλλίων*) subject to treat than Thucydides. Moreover, the latter certainly exaggerated the importance of the Peloponnesian War. At the very beginning of it he formed the opinion that it would prove ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων, more remarkable than any that preceded it. This anticipation was only confirmed by the course of the war; events, as he holds, justified his forecast. Exaggeration there is; but we must not over-estimate it.

(a) The past fifty years had seen a great increase in the strength of Athens and Sparta (c. 14, 3; 18, 3); Thucydides in making his estimate thinks only of the strength of the Greek states involved, and of the length of the war. He does not take into consideration the magnitude of the interests involved. He is fully aware that the very existence of the Greeks had been involved in the Persian War. But the war was short: for τὰ Μηδικά, τὸ Μηδικόν in this connexion refer only to the conflict with Xerxes (cf. c. 14, 2; 18, 2); and that struggle was decided 'by four battles.'

(b) In the Persian War a large part of the Greek world had remained passive. In the Peloponnesian War all the Greeks were conscious that they were interested.

Still we can see that Thucydides was trying to find reasons for magnifying his subject; and no doubt, in doing this, he was influenced partly by tradition and partly by the sophists, who were careful to insist on the importance of the lesson they had to teach and who were skilled in making the weaker argument appear the stronger.

5. *Attitude towards Myth and Tradition.*—Thucydides is not the earliest author to throw doubt

on the myths. The 'logographers' until Herodotus had subordinated fact to myth. Herodotus adopts a tolerant attitude towards prehistoric traditions, neither affirming nor denying their truth: ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν τούτων οὐκ ἔρχομαι ἐρέων ὡς οὗτω η̄ ἄλλως καὶ ταῦτα ἐγένετο (i. 5) is what he says about them. But belief waned; philosophy declared against tradition; the sophists preached scepticism; Anaxagoras turned myth into allegory. Comedy did not shrink from parodies on the stories of the gods, and Euripides did at least as much to bring them into disrepute. Thucydides has no liking for τὸ μιθῶδες. Yet he does not reject myth entirely. Agamemnon and Pelops, Hellen, Pandion, Tereus are to him real persons; but he believes in the accounts of them only so far as the accounts appear to him credible. What is incredible is due to the poet's exaggeration and his desire to please. Sometimes, without expressing any opinion, he just gives the story: as in iv. 24 ἔστιν η̄ Χάριβδις κληθεῖσα τοῦτο, γ̄ Ὀδισσεὺς λέγεται διαπλεῖσται.¹ Such cautious statements come when he can base no probable conclusion on the poet's words, and can apply no test to them. What is really scientific in his treatment of the myths is this, that he never draws any conclusion from them that would not be justified even on the assumption that they were altogether fictitious. For example, from the story of the siege of Troy he correctly infers the early method of warfare among the Greeks. The wealth of Corinth in early times, affirmed by the poets, is rightly accounted for (c. 13). The soundness of his method in deriving con-

¹ Cf. Herod. vii. 26 τὸν (Μαρσύαν) ὑπὸ Φρυγῶν λόγος ἔχει οὐ ποτὲ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκδιαρέντα ἀνακρεμασθῆναι. Xen. Anab. i. ii. 8 ἐνταῦθα λέγεται Ἀπόλλων ἐκδεῖραι Μαρσύαν.

clusions from Homer may best be tested by reading cc. 9–11 from this point of view. The example of Thucydides was not followed by the historians who came after. Xenophon, indeed, kept on the safe side by avoiding mythology altogether. But Philistus, who is said to have imitated Thucydides, introduced legends for their own sake. Ephorus did not go back beyond the ‘return of the Heraclidae’; but Theopompos, we are told, revelled in anecdotes, fables, and local legends. In later ages only Polybius, and apparently Posidonius, who numbered Cicero among his pupils, and stood to Polybius in the same relation as Xenophon to Thucydides, rigidly kept legend out of history.¹

6. *Composition of the history.*—Thucydides tells us that he began to work on his history immediately the war broke out. Was the first book as we have it put into shape after the end of the *whole* war, or was it written during the peace of Nicias? In other words, are we dealing in the Proem with the twenty-seven years’ war or with the ten years’ (or, as it was called in later times, the ‘Archidamian’) war only?² Round this question a controversy has raged ever since 1846, when F. W. Ullrich published a remarkable work,³ in which with great skill he sought to prove that Thucydides regarded the war as terminated by the Peace of Nicias (421 B.C.), and wrote his history down to the middle of the fourth book under that impression. We

¹ This is what we should expect of Posidonius, who was a ‘man of science’ in the modern sense, and conducted his varied investigations in the Baconian spirit.

² Cf. v. 24 ταῦτα δὲ τὰ δέκα ἔτη ὁ πρῶτος πόλεμος ξυνεχῶς γενόμενος γέγραπται.

³ Whether the main thesis of this book is true or not, it marks an epoch in the criticism of Thucydides.

cannot do more than indicate the nature of the controversy. Classen's opinion was that the first book was not written before the fall of Athens. Among those who maintain that the history of the Archidamian War was written during the Peace of Nicias, there are some who think that the *Ἀρχαιολογία* and *Πεντηκονταετία* (cc. 97–118) were added, and the rest revised, after 404 B.C.¹ The problem admits of no certain solution; but it is worthy of notice, that the three speeches in this book that give forecasts of the course which the war will take² almost certainly contain some examples of 'prophecy after the event'; and at least the passages about *ἐπιτείχισις* and the desertion of Athenian slaves seem to have been written after the fortification of Decelea in 413 B.C. It is to be noticed that some parts of the history show much greater elaboration than others; and I cannot help thinking that Thucydides worked on different parts at different times. The famous condensation of Thucydides in his highly wrought passages gives an effect of great rapidity; but it is not likely that this concentration of thought and language was achieved rapidly. In the speeches, in particular, we seem to have the work of a laborious and careful writer; the very complication of the grammar is the outcome not of haste, but of elaboration. A hasty writer does not pen tortuous periods.³

¹ G. Meyer, *Quibus temporibus, etc.* Ilfeld, 1880. The bibliography of this controversy is very extensive.

² Archidamus, cc. 80–83; Corinthian envoy, cc. 121–122; Pericles, cc. 140–144.

³ The unfinished eighth book is perhaps in its first state. This is probably the simple reason why it contains no speeches. The episode of the Four Hundred may be more finished than the rest.

ii. Causes of the war : the *Pentecontaetia*.

1. As to the alleged causes of the war, Thucydides says (c. 23, 6) *τὰς αἰτίας προύγραψα πρῶτον καὶ τὰς διαφοράς*. The true cause, however, he adds, was the growth of Athenian power, which alarmed the Lacedaemonians.¹ The danger is put bluntly by the ephor Sthenelaidas (c. 86)—*μὴ τὸν Ἀθηναῖον ἔτε μείζον γίγνεσθαι*. At c. 88 the true cause is related. The Lacedaemonians, we read, decided in favour of war, not so much because they were convinced by the arguments of their allies, but rather because they feared the Athenians would wax yet stronger. It is here that Thucydides goes at length into the ἀληθεστάτη *πρόφασις*, taking occasion to write the passage (cc. 89–118) known to ancient commentators as the *πεντηκονταετία*. The *πεντηκονταετία* was probably added after the main part of the book had been written, for in c. 146 we again read *αἰτίαι αὗται καὶ διαφοραὶ ἐγένοντο πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου*, and in this brief summary of the causes we miss a reference to the long account of the ἀληθεστάτη *πρόφασις*. First it occurred to Thucydides to insert after c. 88 an explanation how the Athenians came by the hegemony—*ἢ λθον ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐν οἷς ηὔξηθησαν*. This explanation extends from c. 89 to c. 96. Then he decided that it was desirable to state what passed between the beginning of the Athenian hegemony and the outbreak of the war. At c. 23, where he first mentions the ‘true cause,’ he would probably have told us that he intended to go into the matter after stating the alleged causes, but at that point he

¹ Dionysius is mistaken when he blames Thuc. for not dealing with the ‘true’ cause first. When Thuc. wrote c. 23, 6 he considered that he had said enough about this cause. Later on he changed his opinion, and inserted the *Pentecontaetia*.

had not any intention of doing so, and at a later time, when he decided to add the *Pentecontaetia* after c. 88, he did not modify either c. 23 or c. 146.

2. An indication is not wanting that the second part of the *Pentecontaetia* (cc. 96–118) is added as an after-thought to the first part. In c. 89, 2 the account of the transference of the hegemony starts from the battle of Mycale. Thucydides did not then notice that he was about to deal with a period bordering on fifty years, and so he started at the natural place, viz. where Herodotus had left off. Now when he has arrived at the end of his survey of events down to the war, he recapitulates; and in order that he may be able to put the number of years that he has covered in the two parts of the *Pentecontaetia* at the round figure of fifty, he shifts the *terminus a quo* from the battle of Mycale to the retreat of Xerxes after Salamis. And he concludes as if he had given a complete list of events from the earlier date! In reality, of course, his list only begins with 476 B.C., the formation of the confederacy of Delos (c. 98); contrast c. 118, 2 *ταῦτα δὲ ξύμπαντα ὅσα ἐπραξαν οἱ Ἑλλῆνες*, etc.

3. *The Pentecontaetia.*

The chief events noticed are as follows:—

B.C.

- 480 Battle of Salamis; flight of Xerxes.
- 479 Battle of Mycale. Siege of Sestos.
- 478 Athens rebuilt and fortified.
- 477 The fleet under Pausanias takes Byzantium.
- 476 Treachery of Pausanias: the hegemony transferred to Athens. Formation of the Confederacy of Delos.
- 475 Capture of Eion by Cimon.

B.C.

466 (very doubtful). Naxos reduced to subjection.

466 Battle of Eurymedon.

465 Death of Xerxes.
Revolt of Thasos.
Beginning of third Messenian War.

461 Athens breaks with Sparta, and forms alliance with Argos and Thessaly.

459 Athens helps Inaros in his revolt from Persia.

457 Reduction of Aegina.
Battles of Tanagra and Oenophyta.

453 Destruction of Athenian force in Egypt.

450 Five years' truce between Athens and Sparta.

449 War resumed against Persia.
Death of Cimon.

448 Sacred War in Phocis.

447 Battle of Coronea.

446 Revolt of Euboea and Megara.

445 Thirty years' peace.

440 Revolt of Samos and Byzantium.

Most of these dates are more or less uncertain, because Thucydides has not fixed the date of any of the events, except the thirty years' peace (ii. 2 *τέσσαρα μὲν γὰρ καὶ δέκα ἔτη ἐνέμειναν αἱ τριακοντούτεις σπονδαὶ αἱ ἐγένοντο μετ' Εὐβοίας ἄλωσιν), and the revolt of Samos and Byzantium (i. 115). And even the former event is not dated in the *Pentecontaetia*, but only fixed relatively to the other events. Indeed, we might almost apply to Thucydides the very criticism that he makes on Hellanicus, the one author who had dealt with the period: *τούτων βραχέως τε καὶ τοῖς χρόνοις οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἐπεμνήσθη.* The*

chronology would have been much clearer if he had adopted fully the annalistic method, and catalogued the events under the names of the archons. We must suppose that Hellanicus had got some of the events in the wrong order.

A want of proportion has been noticed in this *ἐκβολὴ τοῦ λόγου*. Small and big events are treated alike ; nay, the battle of Eurymedon is dismissed in a sentence, whereas much more room is given to the Egyptian affair (c. 104 ; 109), and to the third Messenian War. Dionysius with good reason expresses surprise that Thucydides says so little of Eurymedon. No adequate account of the battle or battles existed, and it was left for Ephorus and Theopompus¹ to fill the gap.

4. The object for which the two sides fought is stated incidentally in several places ; nowhere more clearly than by Pericles in his speech before the war and by the Corinthian envoy at Sparta. We have in these the final speech delivered on either side before the war. But at Sparta—two votes were taken, one from the Lacedaemonians only (c. 87) and another shortly afterwards from the whole of the confederate cities. The Athenians were resolved *μὴ ξὺν φόβῳ ἔχειν ἀ κέκτηνται*. In his ‘laconic’ speech Sthenelaias puts the matter from the Spartan point of view. The Peloponnesians determined to ensure their security from Athens and the liberation of those already ‘enslaved.’ In other words the Athenians fought for *ἀρχή*, the Peloponnesians—so they declared—for *ἐλευθερία*. The catch-word of the Peloponnesians brought them the *εὑνοια* of the

¹ The account of Ephorus is partly extant in the *Στρατηγήματα* of Polyaenus i. 34. Theopompus was the chief authority used by Plutarch in the *Life of Cimon*.

majority in the Greek world ; but it did not bring their confederacy any marked accession of support. For the Greek world knew well enough that in reality Sparta was the controlling force on the confederate side as soon as it came to war, and that 'both leaders,' as Herodotus puts it (vi. 98), 'were fighting for empire.' The Athenians stated their object frankly, too frankly indeed for their own interests¹ ; the Spartans, on the contrary, wrapped up their selfish purpose in fine words, which did not deceive many outside the Peloponnesian alliance. The contrast between this Athenian candour and this Spartan deception runs all through the earlier part of Thucydides. From the beginning of the *κίνησις* Sparta played the part of a hypocrite. Xenophon, who seldom soars, who hated Thebes and had strong reasons for taking a favourable view of the Spartan ἀρχή, rises to impassioned eloquence when, through the mouth of a Theban envoy at Athens, he tells of the nemesis that followed on this career of deception. Surely he was thinking of Thucydides when he wrote of Sparta the burning words : ἀλλὰ μὲν καὶ οὐσὶ ἴμων ἀπέστησαν φανεροὶ εἰσιν ἔξηπατηκότες· ἀντὶ γὰρ ἐλευθερίας διπλῆν αὐτοῖς δουλείαν παρεσχήκασιν.

5. The end of Pausanias is narrated at greater length than is warranted by the occasion. Ostensibly Thucydides brings in the passage to explain what was meant by *τὸ τῆς Χαλκιοίκου ἄγος* (c. 128). But from the mass of detail that he gives, we can see that

¹ Compare the Melian dialogue, and the ὡς . . . ραννίδα ήδη ἔχετε αὐτὴν (i.e. *τὴν ἀρχὴν*) ήν λαβεῖν μὲν ἀδικον δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἀφεῖναι δὲ ἐπικίνδυνον (ii. 63) with the speech of the Mitylenaeans, especially μὴ ξὺν κακῷς ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς (*τοὺς "Ελληνας*) μετ' Ἀθηναῖων ἀλλὰ ξυνελευθεροῦν (iii. 18).

he must have gained new information on the subject from Spartan sources. This information he is anxious to give to his countrymen. But, if the account of Pausanias' end is lengthened out until it becomes practically independent of the main narrative, what are we to say of the appendix about Themistocles? This is wholly irrelevant; and one of the motives for bringing it in is plainly revealed in the sentence with which the passage concludes: *τὰ μὲν κατὰ Παυσανίαν . . . καὶ Θεμιστοκλέα, λαμπροτάτους γενομένους τῶν καθ' έαυτούς Ἑλλήνων οἵτις ἐτελεύτησεν.* Having arrived at the death of Pausanias, Thucydides wanted to round off the passage by relating the last events in the life of his great contemporary.

The chronology and the details of the flight of Themistocles are uncertain. Plutarch (*Themistocles* 27) tells us that according to Ephorus and many other authors Themistocles went to the court of Xerxes. But Thucydides and one of the *λογογράφοι* (Charon of Lampsacus) represent him as arriving at the Persian court after the death of Xerxes. Plutarch finds the dates as given by Thucydides more probable; but he says they are not settled. The death of Xerxes is placed in 465 B.C. But Thucydides (c. 137, 2) says that the Athenian fleet was blockading Naxos when Themistocles crossed the Aegean. Unfortunately the date of the siege of Naxos can only be inferred from c. 99. But it is quite plain that Thucydides supposed it to have occurred a considerable time before the revolt of Thasos and the Athenian disaster at Drabescus (c. 100). Now we happen to know from iv. 102 that this last affair occurred twenty-nine years before the foundation of Amphipolis, i.e. before 437 B.C. Therefore the disaster at Drabescus happened about

465 B.C., or about the time of Xerxes' death. It is impossible that the siege of Naxos can have happened so late as 466 B.C. ; and so Themistocles must have fled from Argos some time before the death of Xerxes. Thucydides had obtained his information from the relatives of Themistocles (c. 138, 6) ; and it is evident that we cannot rely on the details. For example, there is no ground for supposing that the letter of Themistocles¹ (c. 137, 4) is genuine. Evidently Thucydides had no Persian source of information to draw upon (cf. c. 138, 1 β αστιλε ν s δέ, ω s λέγεται). All indications point to 470 B.C. as the date of Themistocles' flight² ; and if this be so, we must place the reduction of Naxos in that year, and conclude that Thucydides is wrong in saying that Artaxerxes was king when Themistocles arrived at the court.

iii. *The two Debates at Sparta.*

1. The influence of Corinth in the Peloponnesian league is so great that she has it in her power to force the hand even of Sparta. A bustling, trading city, in close contact with the outer world, she contrasted strongly with the supine, self-centred leader of the league ; and, as the natural champion of the more active members of the league, and especially of the cities on the coast, she was bent on compelling Sparta to show herself determined to counteract the aggressive spirit of Athens.³ Her

¹ The text of it differs in Plutarch, but the drift of the letter is the same.

² Wilamowitz, *Aristoteles und Athen* i. 144 f. Themistocles, as W. points out, cannot have been regarded as a traitor up to the time when the *Persae* was produced, i.e. 472 B.C. It is unfortunate that the date of the *Prometheus Vinctus* is uncertain : Hermann's opinion that 1068-70 $ro\acute{v}$ προδότρας γὰρ μισεῖν ξμαθον κτλ. allude to Themistocles is highly probable.

³ Already in 524 B.C. Corinth had impelled Sparta, though reluctant, to send an expedition against Samos. Corinth was then

hatred of Athens was traditional. It arose, according to Thucydides, out of an event connected with Megara, and at a time when Corinth and Megara were enemies (c. 103, 4). After Megara revolted from Athens in 445 B.C., she naturally threw in her lot with Corinth, and actually fought on her side in the battle of Sybota (c. 114). The Megarian decree was, of course, a menace to Corinthian trade. It is strange that no direct allusion to Megara is put into the mouth of the Corinthian speaker in either of the two debates at Sparta. Already during the Persian wars Corinth had opposed Athenian policy; she had been especially violent in her opposition to Themistocles before the battle of Salamis. The opposition may, even so early as that, have been a tradition; but it may be that the notices of it in Herodotus are to some extent influenced by later events, and especially by that later-born *σφοδρὸν μῖσος* of Corinth towards Athens, the origin of which is told by Thucydides.

2. How far do the speeches stated to have been delivered in these debates tell us what was really said?¹ Take the first debate. An Athenian envoy must, of course, have intervened in it. But we cannot suppose that he was capable of delivering, on the spur of the moment, any such speech as Thucydides puts into his mouth. Neither can he have used arguments of such a general character as

influenced by anxiety about her trade. She again opposed Sparta, and gained the support of the Peloponnesian allies, when there was a project at Sparta to restore the tyrant Hippias.

¹ Of the speeches in general Thuc. says he gives *τὴν ξύμπασαν γνώμην τῶν ὡς ἀληθῶς λεχθέντων*. The *ξύμπασα*, which is so often contrasted with *καθ' ξκαστον*, shows that we must not expect that the separate arguments he puts into the mouth of a speaker shall in any case be those that were actually used by him.

are attributed to him. He must have replied with definite answers to the particular complaints of the previous speakers. Thucydides has elevated the discussion into a conflict of opposing ideals and incompatible temperaments. We are reminded of the rhetorical battles in Euripides, where the combatants are really embodied abstractions—Theseus for *Λόγος δίκαος*, Herald for *Λόγος ἄδικος*. Of the several attacks delivered by the allies in this battle of words we witness only the last. It is directed at the policy both of Athens and of Sparta. And so it must needs be repulsed by an Athenian and a Spartan orator. Neither of them alludes to the particular grievances laid before the assembly by the representatives present. And even among the general and common complaints only one, that referring to the restriction of the right of litigation which was imposed by Athens on her allies, is answered.

At the time of the second debate no Athenian envoys were conveniently present in Sparta. Had Xenophon been describing the scene, no doubt he would have recorded the speech delivered by the representative of some city opposed to the war, an Elean perhaps or Mantinean. Opposition there was to the declaration of war, and it was not merely silent (c. 119). But Thucydides is too philosophical to trouble himself with the words of those whose actions did not count in the result. Therefore in the scene as he represents it, the speaking parts are confined to the leading characters; the others remain silent, and so the speech of the Corinthian is not answered. But if Thucydides was to make clear the attitude of Athens, a reply to the speech was imperatively called for. Accordingly, as the reply could not be given as part of the debate at Sparta,

it is put into the mouth of Pericles, who spoke at Athens; and, although he cannot in reality have known just what the Corinthian envoy had said, he is represented as replying to his forecast of the war step by step. This speech of Pericles is singled out from among many that were delivered at the same meeting (c. 139).

IV. MIND AND STYLE

It is very difficult to arrive at a just appreciation of a genius so complex as Thucydides ; and to deal adequately with so large a subject in a few pages is of course impossible. All that we can attempt here is to lay down lines of approach towards an understanding of his excellences. His faults are clear enough and strike even superficial readers who remain blind to the magnificence of his descriptions, the appropriateness and depth of his moral maxims, the pathos that so impressed the Greek critics, and even his originality. The judgment of Dionysius was warped by his rhetorical training. Yet on the whole no fairer criticism of Thucydides' style has been penned than a passage in the *περὶ τοῦ Θουκιδίδος χαρακτῆρος*¹ in which he rises for a moment above details and takes a comprehensive view of the matter. After blaming Thucydides for his frequent use of the 'figures of language' (see p. xlv), Dionysius says :—

‘ What is most conspicuous in him and most characteristic is the attempt to express the greatest number of facts in the smallest number of words, to

¹ This passage is repeated in the second letter of Dionysius to Ammaeus, which may be consulted in Prof. Rhys Roberts' edition. Cf. Marcellinus §§ 50, 51.

combine many thoughts, and to leave a listener in the lurch while he is expecting to hear something further: in consequence his brevity becomes obscure. Putting the matter shortly, I say that there are four instruments by which Thucydides fashions his style: the use of poetical words, variety of construction, roughness of composition, brevity of narrative. The "colours" of his style are harshness, succinctness, pungency, austerity, gravity, vehemence—but above all these the power of stirring the emotions.¹

The *brerity* of Thucydides¹ manifests itself in various ways. It is much more frequent with him than with other authors to leave words to be 'supplied' from the context: e.g. c. 70 πεφυκέναι ἐπὶ τῷ μήτε αὐτοῖς ἔχειν ἡσυχίαν μήτε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ἔαν (sc. ἔχειν αὐτήν); c. 90 ἡξίοιν αὐτοῖς μὴ τειχίζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ . . ὅσοις ἔντειχοις (sc. τὰ τείχη) ἔνγυκαθελεῖν. This is the grammatical figure called ἀπὸ κοινοῦ. But often a whole clause is condensed into a single word, generally an adverb, as in c. 21 τὰ πολλὰ ἵπὸ χρόνου αὐτῶν ἀπίστως (=οὐτως ὥστε ἀπίστα εἶναι) ἐπὶ τὸ μιθῶδες ἐκνευκηκότα; c. 140 ἐνδέχεται τὰς ἔντειχος τῶν πραγμάτων οὐχ ἡσσον ἀμαθῶς (=ὥστε μὴ προμαθεῖν αὐτὰς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις) χωρῆσαι. As for *obscurity* it results most commonly from compression, and especially from his habits of omitting a step in an argument, and of suggesting ideas without developing them. For a clause omitted take c. 120 χρὴ γὰρ τοῖς ἡγεμόνας . . τὰ κοινὰ προσκοπεῖν, which follows immediately on τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις . . οὐκ ἀν ἔτι αἰτιασταίμεθα ὡς οὐ καὶ

¹ e.g. Cicero, *de Oratione* ii. 56 *ita creber est rerum frequentia ut verborum prope numerum sententiarum numero consequatur.* Every one knows Quintilian's *densus et brevis et semper instans sibi Thucydides.*

αὐτοὶ ἐψηφισμένοι τὸν πόλεμόν εἰσι καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐς τοῦτο
νῦν ξυνήγαγον. Between the two sentences, in order
to complete the sense, we have to supply: 'In acting
thus they are only doing their duty.' This kind of
ellipse is, of course, especially frequent with γάρ.
The other principal cause of obscurity is touched on
under the section on the speeches.

Examples of *Poetical* and *Ionic* forms and words:¹ pref. pass. 3rd plur. in -αται, pluperf. in -ατο, found also in Herod. ; ἐπειρασάμην beside ἐπειράθην, epic, Herod. ; ἐμέμφθην beside ἐμεμψάμην, poets, Herod. ; ἀλκή, poets, Herod., Xen. ; ξυμφορά = 'occurrence,' drama, Herod. ; ὄμαιχμία Herod. ; τιμωρία = 'help,' Herod., Hippocrates ; πολέμιος = 'belonging to war,' Herod., Hippocrates ; νεοχμοῦν Herod. ; ὀτρίνω poets, Herod. ; φονεύω, Herod., Xen. ; Τρωάς, Ἑλλάς as adjectives for Τρωικός, Ἑλληνικός, poets, Herod. Among *poetical constructions*² may be mentioned the dative with verbs of motion, giving the goal, as c. 13 ὅτε Ἀμεινοκλῆς Σαμίοις ἥλθε ; dat. with ἐπί, of hostile intent, c. 102 τὴν γενομένην ἐπὶ τῷ Μήδῳ ξυμμαχίαν ; dat. of agent with other tenses than perf. and pluperf. see c. 44, 7 ; 51, 3 ; neut. plur. of adjectives and especially of verbal in -τέος as predicate ; neut. sing. of partic. with article as abstract noun, e.g. τὸ δεδίος c. 36 ; τὸ βουλόμενον c. 90.

The rough, archaic style of composition ($\tauὸ\tauραχὺ\tauῆς\άρμονίας$) allows of harsh sounds and hiatus, arranges the words in a sentence according to their importance, without regard to the ear,³ 'so that each word may be seen conspicuously' ; does not strive

¹ O. Diener, *de Sermone Thucydidis*, Lips. 1889.

² C. F. Smith, 'Some poetical constructions in Thuc.' *Am. Journ. of Phil.* vol. xxv. p. 61.

³ Blass, *Attische Beredsamkeit* 222.

after a rounded period, but places the short clauses side by side. All prettiness, $\tauὸ κομψόν$, is foreign to its nature, and so when Thucydides indulges in the mere mechanical ‘figures of language,’ $πάρισα$ and $παρομοίωσις$ (p. xlvi) he is making a concession to a prevalent bad fashion. As a rule it is not by sentences, but by the effective position of single words that he strives to give dignity to his style. Closely bound up with the prevailing disregard of sound and form is the *variation of construction* that appears in many forms. A characteristic example occurs already in c. 3, 2, where the moods change rapidly (see note). The co-ordination of dissimilar clauses is very common, as in c. 1 $ὅτι . . . ὢσαν καὶ . . . ὅρων$. The *thought* is more important to him than the *form*. From this preference of the sense arise the numerous small irregularities of grammar such as (a) the enlargement or contraction of the subject in the course of a sentence, as in c. 49, 4; and (b) the ‘anacoluthic’ $δέ$, generally after a parenthesis, as in c. 11 $ἐπειδὴ δὲ . . . ἐκράτησαν . . . φαίνονται δ' οὐδὲ$ $ἐνταῦθα κτλ.$; but sometimes without parenthesis, as in ii. 65 $ἐπεί τε ὁ πόλεμος κατέστη, ὁ δὲ φαίνεται καὶ ἐτούτῳ προγνοὺς τὴν δύναμιν$. (c) Here we may place the habit of joining two forms of construction as in c. 72 $τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἔτιχε γὰρ πρεσβεία . . . παροῦσα, καὶ ὡς ἱσθούσα κτλ.$; c. 14 $οὐ γέ τε ἀφ' οὐ . . . ἐπεισεν . . . τὰς ναῦς ποιήσασθαι$. Constructions of the kind called *κατὰ σύνεσιν* are naturally frequent. A good example of these may be found in the freedom with which a nominative partic. is used, where strictly a gen. abs. is required, and conversely a gen. abs. for the nom. or other case: contrast, for instance, iii. 34 $ὁ δὲ Πάχης προκαλεσάμενος ἐσ λόγοις Ἰππίαν . . . ὁ μὲν (Hippias) ἐξῆλθε παρ' αὐτόν, ὁ δὲ ἐκεῖνον ἐν φυλακῇ$

ἀδέσμῳ εἰχεν, with iii. 13 βοηθησάντων δὲ ὑμῶν προθύμως, πόλιν προσλήψεσθε, or i. 114 διαβεβηκότος Περικλέους . . . ἡγγέλθη αὐτῷ.

As an illustration of the ‘colours of style’ enumerated by Dionysius, we shall refer to one sentence only. It contains all the qualities mentioned—disregard of smoothness, a pregnant brevity, incisiveness, grave dignity ; and for its tragic solemnity it could not have been intensified by the addition of any detail. Any one can test Dionysius’ list by thinking over c. 23, 2 οὐτε γὰρ πόλεις . . . στασιάζειν.¹

¹ Especially the emphasis thrown on the long words ἡρημώθησαν, ἀλισκόμεναι, ἀντιπολεμούντων, στασιάζειν, and the intrusion of the parenthesis which breaks the symmetry should be noticed. Thuc. makes his greatest effect by apparently simple means.

V. THE SPEECHES

1. Already in ancient times Thucydides is commended as the first historian who composed true speeches—*δημηγορία*.¹ He has told us what method he followed: 'I have made every speaker say what seemed to me most appropriate on each occasion, taking care to keep as close as I could to the spirit of what was actually said.' If it is asked why Thucydides inserts these set speeches, the true answer is probably that oratory was in his day advancing rapidly in importance and in technical excellence, and that the *δημηγορία*, the *λόγος*, held in Athenian life a place as important as that held by the *πράξις* or *ἔργον*. Already in Herodotus the persons speak, but in an informal, conversational manner. Direct speech in history was but a legacy received from epic poetry. Naturally, influence and power of political discourse were enormously enhanced by the appearance of rhetoric. The age of Pericles did not regard Themistocles as a great orator (see c. 138, 3); even Pericles did not, so Plutarch says, write out his speeches for the assembly; but he was probably the last great statesman who did not do so. Rhetoric found direct speech already existing in Ionic history;

¹ αἱ δημηγορίαι αὐτοῦ, ἐν αἷς οἰονται τίπες τὴν ἀκραν τοῦ συγγραφέως εἶναι δύναμιν Dionys. περὶ τοῦ Θουκ. χ. c. 34.

and naturally it exerted as powerful an influence in the domain of Attic history as it exerted on Attic oratory.

2. In manner, too, Herodotus had followed the usage of epic. His speeches and dialogues have the simplicity and grace of the Homeric discourses ; even the longer ones 'have the conversational tone rather than the rhetorical.'¹ It cannot be said that there is no display of rhetoric in the discourses of Herodotus ; but it is quite clear that his preference was for the ample colloquial manner of the epic heroes. He professes to give the actual words of the speakers ; and in the main he makes them talk not that he may present in this way an analysis of motives, but that he may diversify the narrative and retain the attention of his listeners. Thucydides was the first writer to introduce *δημηγορίαι* proper into history ; and the writers on rhetoric regarded him, and him alone, as an orator as well as a historian, thus bearing emphatic testimony to the importance of his speeches in the history of their art.

3. The speeches in Thucydides occupy more than a fifth of the whole work. The occasion chosen for their introduction is always a notable conjuncture in the development of the war ; not *necessarily*, as Sir R. Jebb points out, an occasion of much importance in relation to the war ; but always, as we should expect to find in Thucydides, the occasion of some event that he can treat as 'typical of its kind.' In the first book, indeed, all the occasions on which a speech is inserted are in themselves of the first importance. But here, as always, he makes the speeches the means of affording us an insight into the inner motives of action, or into the character and policy of

¹ Jebb in *Hellenica* p. 169.

whole states or of political parties. He condenses in a single speech or in the speeches of opposed orators all the reflexions that *he* thinks appropriate to the situation ; and thus the speakers become personifications of that political idea which inspired them. The words in which they express the idea are for the most part supplied by Thucydides¹ ; the form, the topics, and the structure alike are largely dependent on the popular rhetoric of the day.

4. As regards the form, it is easy to blame Thucydides for the excessive use of the rhetorical figures of language. These are the *σχήματα Γοργία* remarked by the Scholiasts and the ancient commentators in general; *μειρακιώδεις σχηματισμοι* and *θεατρικὰ σχήματα* Dionysius calls them. The commonest of these figures is, of course, the *antithesis*: a conspicuous example of its use is c. 70. Now it is hardly reasonable to complain just because this figure is frequent in Thucydides ; and perhaps nobody would do so had it not received a bad name as one of the 'Gorgian' tricks. Thucydides deals with a subject that is full of contrasts. There is the contrast between Ionian and Dorian, Athenian and Spartan ; between pretence and reality, promise and fulfilment ; and Thucydides was bound to bring these contrasts out. But in the speeches where all the 'figures' are naturally most frequent, he sometimes lets a feeling

¹ Poppo's statement has not been improved upon and is specially appropriate to the speeches of the first book: 'Consilium Thucydidis in eo positum erat, ut orationes vere habitas imitarentur et vitam publicam exprimerent. Continentur enim iis aut descriptiones civitatum formarum atque commodorum et incommodorum ex iis orientium aut adumbrationes ingeniorum atque morum populorum et virorum principum, aut expositiones cur aliquid suscipiendum et quomodo laetus eius eventus sperandus . . . omnino, quae commentatus est scriptor de rerum rationibus hominumque consiliis.'

for antithesis carry him into verbal contrasts that contain little or no substance. It was the fashion of the day, and Thucydides followed it at times only too faithfully.¹ Unfortunately, too, he does not always rest content with the antithetic form pure and simple. With antithesis he occasionally combines those less desirable 'figures,' such as *paromoiosis* or jingle in the sound of whole clauses,² and *parisis* or equality in the length of clauses; but such trivialities are less common in him than in Antiphon, for example, or Isocrates, and they are certainly not numerous enough to warrant us in saying that Thucydides deliberately aimed at them. It would be fairer to say that he does not always avoid them. One of the minor figures, *paronomasia*, or jingle in the sound of words,³ is undoubtedly common even in the descriptions. But it must be remembered that in all Greek literature, from Homer downwards, this *paronomasia* is common.⁴ The practice is so notorious and constant that it may be enough here to point out that *ὅδύστσομα* occurs in Homer only and always as in *paronomasia* with the name *'Οδυσσεύς*.⁵ On the whole, in spite of Gorgias, the minor 'figures

¹ Dionysius, as Blass says, declares the figures to be unworthy of the grave, austere dignity of Thucydides. They can hardly be excused *altogether* on the ground that fashion required them. This excuse makes the *κτῆμα* *ἐσ* *αιεῖ* into an *ἀγώνισμα* *ἐσ* *τὸ* *παραχρῆμα*! On the other hand, I do not think we can say that *antithesis* is foreign to the nature of the grave style. We must distinguish between this and the minor *σχήματα λέξεως*.

² e.g. c. 70 *καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν τολμηταὶ* | *καὶ παρὰ γνώμην κινδυνευταὶ*.

³ e.g. c. 33 *καὶ προεπιβουλεύειν αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον* *ἢ* *ἀντεπιβουλεύειν*.

⁴ Nieschke, *de Thucydide Antiphontis discipulo*, Münden 1885.

⁵ *Il.* iv. 140 *Ηροθός θοός*; but by no means only with proper names: e.g. *Il.* xviii. 541 *πτειραν ἄρουραν εὐρεῖαν*: *Od.* ix. 415 *ὦδίνων ὅδύνησιν*.

of language' are no commoner in Thucydides than they are in Homer. Of course Gorgias did not invent the figures ; he first taught them. Suidas mentions books $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\tau\omega\nu\pi\alpha\rho'$ 'Ομίλωφ σχημάτων ῥητορικῶν : Aristotle in the *Rhetoric* goes to Homer (*Il.* ix. 526) for his example of *paromoiosis* : and in the tract *de vita et poesi Homeri*, attributed to Plutarch, several examples of the minor figures are collected from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. As for the other class of 'figures,' the figures of thought, such as irony, the rhetorical question, asyndeton, anaphora, they are so seldom used by Thucydides that they do not count as characteristic of his style.

5. In the choice and arrangement of his subject matter he is never the slave of rhetoric. He gives us, of course, the ordinary *exordium*¹ ($\pi\rhoοίμιον$), *argumentatio* ($\alpha\gamma\omega\nu\epsilon$), and *peroratio* ($\epsilon\pi\iota\lambdaογος$). He uses too the rhetorical commonplaces, such as *honour* ($\tau\delta\kappa\alpha\lambda\o\nu$), *interest* ($\tau\delta\sigma\mu\phi\epsilon\rho\nu$), *justice* ($\tau\delta\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\nu$) ; and in handling these he has always at command an extraordinary abundance of arguments and aphorisms that surpasses anything to be found elsewhere in Greek oratory. His power of invention wrings from Dionysius an emphatic eulogy ; to us it becomes at times actually wearisome,² the same materials being grouped again and again in different shapes, as in a kaleidoscope.

Ipsae illae contiones, says Cicero of Thucydides' speeches, *ita multas habent obscuras abditasque sententias, vix ut intelligantur*. In the speeches much more often than the narrative, $\alpha\tau\alpha\phi\epsilon\gamma\iota\gamma\eta\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota\tau\delta\beta\rho\chi\iota$. The sentences are overloaded with ideas, they are compli-

¹ This may be omitted to produce an effect of abruptness and vehemence, as in the case of Sthenelaidas' 'laconic' speech, c. 86.

² Cf. Mahaffy, *Greek Prose Literature*.

cated by the intrusion of numerous clauses which stand in various relations to the main construction. It is not that he is incapable of writing clearly when he comes to write a speech ; nothing, for example, could be more clearly expressed than the last speech in his history, the magnificent address delivered by Nicias during the retreat from Syracuse. But unfortunately he shows too often a preference for the complicated over the simple form of expression ; he likes to write in long, straggling, ill-balanced periods that contrast strangely with their machine-turned antithesis, and the rhymes and jingles in the clauses.

VI. MANUSCRIPTS AND TEXT

The seven MSS. that are of importance for determining the text of Thucydides fall into two groups:—

1. *Laurentianus*, C, in the Laurentian library at Florence, on parchment, 27 lines to the page. Date between 900 and 950, the oldest MS., and, on the whole, the best. The first six pages, down to c. 15, 1 *vñsrov̄* are by a later hand.

Monacensis, G; in Munich library, quarto on paper. 13th century. The upper margin of the page is destroyed; hence the sign [G] means that in the place referred to, the reading of this MS. is lost.

2. *Vaticanus*, B; in the Vatican library; small folio on parchment, 30 to 32 lines on a page. 11th century. Not decisively inferior to C, but with its companions derived, in the first two books, from a different recension of the text. From iii. to vi. c. 92 it does not differ nearly so often (the proportion is 1 to 4) from the C group, and is probably a descendant of the same recension. From vi. c. 92 to the end B differs widely from *all* the other MSS.

Augustanus, F, large folio on parchment. Dated 1301. Formerly at Augsburg, now at Munich.

Cisalpinus or *Italus*, A; at Paris, large folio on parchment. 11th or 12th century. It was lost

from 1815 to 1869, and rediscovered by R. Prinz in the National Library.

Palatinus, E, at Heidelberg; large folio on parchment. 11th century. The only good MS. that contains the two Lives.

Britannicus, M, in the British Museum, quarto on parchment, 27 lines to the page. 11th century. This MS. belongs on the whole to the second group, but it often agrees with the first against BAEF.

In fixing the text, the readings of B and C are of course the most important. It happens that C is more often confirmed by the text of Dionysius than B; and there is a suspicion that readings peculiar to B are sometimes the result of conjecture. In a passage where CG have one reading, BAEFM another, it is best to choose the reading of CG if both are equally acceptable; and if, as sometimes happens, E or M agrees with CG, the claims of the reading to preference are strengthened.

The other sources from which the text can be occasionally corrected are the long quotations in Dionysius, the Scholia (only a small portion of which are of any considerable authority), and the numerous citations from Thucydides or else imitations in later writers, rhetoricians, grammarians and the Scholia to Homer, Aristophanes, and other authors. There is no sufficient reason for supposing that the MSS. of Thucydides are specially corrupt. There are very numerous small mistakes; the insertion or omission of short words, such as $\tau\acute{e}$, $\delta\acute{e}$, $\ddot{o}\tau\iota$, is frequent. But the MSS., are an average lot; not one of them is of great merit—there is nothing like the Bodleian Plato, for example, or the Paris *Anabasis*; but we may be confident that they yield between them a very fair text exhibiting in general only those forms

of error that become familiar to readers of Greek manuscripts. The present editor, at least, readily confesses that a larger acquaintance with MSS. has caused him to withdraw entirely from the opinion of those who detect incessant interpolations and wholesale corruptions in these very ordinary MSS.

ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔΟΥ

ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ Α

Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος ξυνέγραψε τὸν πόλεμον 1
τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων,
ώς ἐπολέμησαν πρὸς ἄλλήλους,
ἀρξάμενος εὐθὺς καθισταμενού καὶ
5 ἐλπίσας μέγαν τε ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἀξιο-
λογώτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων, τεκμαιρόμενος
ὅτι ἀκμάζοντές τε ἡσαν ἐς αὐτὸν ἀμφότεροι
παρασκευῇ τῇ πάσῃ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο Ἑλληνικὸν
όρων ξυνιστάμενον πρὸς ἑκατέρους, τὸ μὲν
10 εὐθύς, τὸ δὲ καὶ διανοούμενον. κίνησις γὰρ 2
αὗτη μεγίστη δὴ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐγένετο καὶ
μέρει τινὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, ώς δὲ εἰπεῖν καὶ
ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀνθρώπων. τὰ γὰρ πρὸ αὐτῶν 3
καὶ τὰ ἔτι παλαιτέρα σαφῶς μὲν εύρειν διὰ
15 χρόνου πλῆθος ἀδύνατα ἦν, ἐκ δὲ τεκμηρίων

The reason for
writing this
history. This
war is greater
than any that
preceded it.

c. 1. 1—c. 15. 1 κατεστρέφοντο suppl. c foll. ii-vii

c. 1. 1—c. 3. 2 τοῦτο suppl. in fol. i

7. ἡσαν Fg Schol. Plat. Rep. 449 A Suid. Phot. : ἡσαν cett.
11. δὴ μεγίστη F Dion. Hal. 15. ἀδύνατον FIG Dion. Hal.

ών ἐπὶ μακρότατον σκοποῦντί μοι πιστεῦσαι
 ξυμβαίνει οὐ μεγάλα νομίζω γενέσθαι οὔτε
 2 κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους οὔτε ἐς τὰ ἄλλα. φαί-
 νεται γὰρ ἡ νῦν Ἑλλὰς καλουμένη οὐ πάλαι
 The greatness of βεβαίως οἰκουμένη, ἀλλὰ μετανα- 5
 this war will
 appear from a
 consideration of
 early Greece.
 στάσεις τε οὖσαι τὰ πρότερα καὶ
 ῥᾳδίως ἔκαστοι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀπολεί-
 ποντες βιαζόμενοι ὑπό τινων αἰὲν πλειόνων.
 2 τῆς γὰρ ἐμπορίας οὐκ οὔσης, οὐδὲ ἐπιμιγνύντες
 ἀδεῶς ἀλλήλοις οὔτε κατὰ γῆν οὔτε διὰ 10
 θαλάσσης, νεμόμενοί τε τὰ αὐτῶν ἔκαστοι
 ὅσον ἀποζῆν καὶ περιουσίαν χρημάτων οὐκ
 ἔχοντες οὐδὲ γῆν φυτεύοντες, ἀδηλον δὲν δόποτε
 τις ἐπελθὼν καὶ ἀτειχίστων ἀμα ὅντων ἄλλος
 ἀφαιρήσεται, τῆς τε καθ' ήμέραν ἀναγκαίου 15
 τροφῆς πανταχοῦ ἀν ήγούμενοι ἐπικρατεῖν, οὐ
 χαλεπῶς ἀπανίσταντο, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ οὔτε μεγέθει
 3 πόλεων ἵσχυον οὔτε τῇ ἄλλῃ παρασκευῇ. μάλιστα
 δὲ τῆς γῆς ἡ ἀρίστη αἰὲν τὰς μεταβολὰς τῶν
 οἰκητόρων εἰχεν, ἡ τε νῦν Θεσσαλία καλουμένη 20
 καὶ Βοιωτία Πελοποννήσου τε τὰ πολλὰ πλὴν
 Ἀρκαδίας, τῆς τε ἄλλης ὅσα ἦν κράτιστα.
 4 διὰ γὰρ ἀρετὴν γῆς αἴ τε δυνάμεις τισὶ μείζους
 ἐγγιγνόμεναι στάσεις ἐνεποίουν ἐξ ὧν ἐφθείροντο,
 καὶ ἀμα ὑπὸ ἀλλοφύλων μᾶλλον ἐπεβουλεύοντο. 25
 5 τὴν γοῦν Ἀττικὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διὰ τὸ
 λεπτόγεων ἀστασίαστον οὖσαν ἀνθρωποι φόκουν
 6 οἱ αὐτοὶ αἰεί. καὶ παράδειγμα τόδε τοῦ λόγου
 οὐκ ἐλάχιστόν ἐστι διὰ τὰς μετοικίας ἐς τὰ

ἄλλα μὴ ὁμοίως αὐξηθῆναι· ἐκ γὰρ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος οἱ πολέμῳ ἢ στάσει ἐκπίπτοντες παρ' Ἀθηναίους οἱ δυνατώτατοι ως βέβαιον ὃν ἀνεχώρουν, καὶ πολῖται γιγνόμενοι εὐθὺς ἀπὸ 5 παλαιοῦ μείζω ἔτι ἐποίησαν πλήθει ἀνθρώπων τὴν πόλιν, ὡστε καὶ ἐς Ἰωνίαν ὕστερον ως οὐχ ἱκανῆς οὖσης τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀποικίας ἐξέπεμψαν.

Δηλοῦ δέ μοι καὶ τόδε τῶν παλαιῶν ἀσθένειαν 3
 10 οὐχ ἥκιστα· πρὸ γὰρ τῶν Τρωικῶν Greece before the Trojan War. οὐδὲν φαίνεται πρότερον κοινῇ ἐργασαμένη ἡ Ἑλλάς· δοκεῖ δέ μοι, οὐδὲ τοῦνομα 2 τοῦτο ξύμπασά πω εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πρὸ "Ελληνος τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος καὶ πάνυ οὐδὲ εἶναι 15 ἡ ἐπίκλησις αὕτη, κατὰ ἔθνη δὲ ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν παρέχεσθαι, "Ελληνος δὲ καὶ τῶν παιδῶν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Φθιώτιδι ἵσχυσάντων, καὶ ἐπαγομένων αὐτοὺς ἐπ' ὥφελίᾳ ἐς τὰς ἄλλας 20 πόλεις, καθ' ἐκάστους μὲν ἥδη τῇ ὄμιλίᾳ μᾶλλον καλεῖσθαι "Ελληνας, οὐ μέντοι πολλοῦ γε χρόνου [ἐδύνατο] καὶ ἅπασιν ἐκνικῆσαι. τεκμη- 3 ριοῦ δὲ μάλιστα "Ομηρος· πολλῷ γὰρ ὕστερον ἔτι καὶ τῶν Τρωικῶν γενόμενος οὐδαμοῦ τοὺς 25 ξύμπαντας ὠνόμασεν οὐδ' ἄλλους ἡ τοὺς μετ' Ἀχιλλέως ἐκ τῆς Φθιώτιδος, οἴπερ καὶ πρῶτοι Ελληνες ἦσαν, Δαναοὺς δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐπεσι καὶ Ἀργείους καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς ἀνακαλεῖ. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ

18. Φθιώτιδι Ee: Φθιωτιά cett.

22. ἐδύνατο om. M

23. ὕστερος γρ. Schol.

βαρβάρους εἴρηκε διὰ τὸ μηδὲ "Ελληνάς πω, ὡς
ἔμοι δοκεῖ, ἀντίπαλον ἐστὶν ὅνομα ἀποκεκρίσθαι.
4 οἱ δὲ οὖν ὡς ἔκαστοι "Ελλήνες, κατὰ πόλεις τε
ὅσοι ἀλλήλων ξυνίεσαν, καὶ ξύμπαντες ὑστερον
κληθέντες οὐδὲν πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν δι' ἀσθένειαν 5
καὶ ἀμειξίαν ἀλλήλων ἀθρόοι ἔπραξαν. ἀλλὰ
καὶ ταύτην τὴν στρατείαν θαλάσση ἥδη πλείω
χρώμενοι ξυνεξῆλθον.

4 Μίνως γὰρ παλαίτατος ὡν ἀκοῇ ἵσμεν
Minos the first ναυτικὸν ἐκτήσατο καὶ τῆς νῦν 10
to possess a fleet. 'Ελληνικῆς θαλάσσης ἐπὶ πλεῖστον
ἐκράτησε καὶ τῶν Κυκλαδῶν νήσων ἥρξε τε
καὶ οἰκιστῆς πρῶτος τῶν πλείστων ἐγένετο,
Κᾶρας ἐξελάσας καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ παῖδας ἥγε-
μόνας ἐγκαταστήσας· τό τε ληστικόν, ὡς εἰκός, 15
καθήρει ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐφ' ὅσον ἐδύνατο,
5 τοῦ τὰς προσόδους μᾶλλον ἴέναι αὐτῷ. οἱ γὰρ
"Ελλήνες τὸ πάλαι καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων οἵ τε
Piracy in early ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ παραθαλάσσιοι καὶ
Greece. ὅσοι νήσους είχον, ἐπειδὴ ἥρξαντο 20
μᾶλλον περαιοῦσθαι ναυσὶν ἐπ' ἀλλήλους,
ἐτράποντο πρὸς ληστείαν, ἥγουμένων ἀνδρῶν
οὐ τῶν ἀδυνατωτάτων κέρδους τοῦ σφετέρου
αὐτῶν ἔνεκα καὶ τοῖς ἀσθενέσι τροφῆς, καὶ
προσπίπτοντες πόλεσιν ἀτειχίστοις καὶ κατὰ 25
κώμας οἰκουμέναις ἥρπαζον καὶ τὸν πλεῖστον
τοῦ βίου ἐντεῦθεν ἐποιοῦντο, οὐκ ἔχοντός πω

8. ξυνεξῆλθον Cobet: ξυνῆλθον cod. : exierant Valla
15. καταστήσας G (corr. G¹) M || ληστρικὸν GM 16.
καθήρει] ἐκάθηρε Schol. Aristid. 87, 9 D 26. τὸν A ? G

αἰσχύνην τούτου τοῦ ἔργου, φέροντος δέ τι καὶ δόξης μᾶλλον δηλοῦσι δὲ τῶν τε ἡπειρω- 2 τῶν τινες ἔτι καὶ νῦν, οἷς κόσμος καλῶς τοῦτο δρᾶν, καὶ οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν ποιητῶν τὰς πύστεις 5 τῶν καταπλεόντων πανταχοῦ ὁμοίως ἐρωτῶντες εἰ λησταί εἰσιν, ώς οὔτε ὡν πυνθάνονται ἀπαξιούντων τὸ ἔργον, οἷς τε ἐπιμελὲς εἴη εἰδέναι οὐκ ὀνειδιζόντων. ἐλήζοντο δὲ καὶ 3 κατ' ἡπειρον ἀλλήλους. καὶ μέχρι τοῦτο πολλὰ 10 τῆς Ἑλλάδος τῷ παλαιῷ τρόπῳ νέμεται περί τε Λοκροὺς τοὺς Ὀξόλας καὶ Αἰτωλοὺς καὶ Ἀκαρνάνας καὶ τὴν ταύτην ἡπειρον. τό τε σιδηροφορεῖσθαι τούτοις τοῖς ἡπειρώταις ἀπὸ τῆς παλαιᾶς ληστείας ἐμμεμένηκεν πᾶσα γὰρ 6 15 ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἐσιδηροφόρει διὰ τὰς ἀφάρκτους τε οἰκήσεις καὶ οὐκ ἀσφαλεῖς παρ' ἀλλήλους ἐφόδους, καὶ ξυνήθη τὴν δίαιταν μεθ' ὅπλων ἐποιήσαντο ὥσπερ οἱ βάρβαροι. σημεῖον δ' 2 20 ἔστι ταῦτα τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἔτι οὔτω νεμόμενα τῶν ποτε καὶ ἐς πάντας ὁμοίων διαιτημάτων.

Ἐν τοῖς πρώτοι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τόν τε σίδηρον 3 κατέθεντο καὶ ἀνειμένη τῇ διαιτῇ ἐς τὸ τρυφερώτερον μετέστησαν. καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι αὐτοῖς τῶν 25 εὐδαιμόνων διὰ τὸ ἀβροδίαιτον οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἐπειδὴ χιτῶνάς τε λινοῦς ἐπαύσαντο φοροῦντες καὶ χρυσῶν τεττίγων ἐνέρσει κρωβύλον ἀναδούμενοι τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν. ἀφ' οὐ καὶ Ἰώνων τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενὲς

Life in early
Greece re-
semilated that of
Asiatics in the
present day.

4 ἐπὶ πολὺ αὕτη ἡ σκευὴ κατέσχεν. μετρίᾳ δ' αὐτὸν ἐσθῆτι καὶ ἐσ τὸν νῦν τρόπον πρῶτοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἔχρησαντο καὶ ἐσ τὰ ἄλλα πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς οἵ τα μείζω κεκτημένοι ἴσοδίαιτοι 5 μάλιστα κατέστησαν. ἐγυμνώθησάν τε πρῶτοι καὶ ἐσ τὸ φανερὸν ἀποδύντες λίπα μετὰ τοῦ γυμνάζεσθαι ἡλείψαντο· τὸ δὲ πάλαι καὶ ἐν τῷ Ὀλυμπικῷ ἀγῶνι διαζώματα ἔχοντες περὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα οἵ ἀθληταὶ ἡγωνίζοντο, καὶ οὐ πολλὰ ἔτη ἐπειδὴ πέπαυται. ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐν 10 τοῖς βαρβάροις ἔστιν οἵ νῦν, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς Ἀσιανοῖς, πυγμῆς καὶ πάλης ἀθλα τίθεται, 6 καὶ διεζωμένοι τοῦτο δρῶσιν. πολλὰ δ' ἀν καὶ ἄλλα τις ἀποδείξειε τὸ παλαιὸν Ἑλληνικὸν ὅμοιότροπα τῷ νῦν βαρβαρικῷ διαιτώμενον. 15

7 Τῶν δὲ πόλεων ὅσαι μὲν νεώτατα φύκισθησαν

Origin of walled καὶ ἥδη πλωιμωτέρων ὄντων, περιου-
cities. σίας μᾶλλον ἔχουσαι χρημάτων ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς αἰγιαλοῖς τείχεσιν ἐκτίζοντο καὶ τοὺς ἴσθμοὺς ἀπελάμβανον ἐμπορίας τε ἔνεκα 20 καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς προσοίκους ἔκαστοι ἴσχύος· αἱ δὲ παλαιαὶ διὰ τὴν ληστείαν ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀντίσχουσαν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης μᾶλλον φύκισθησαν, αἱ τε ἐν ταῖς νήσοις καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡπείροις (ἔφερον γὰρ ἀλλήλους τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοι 25 ὄντες οὐ θαλάσσιοι κάτω φύκουν), καὶ μέχρι τοῦτο ἔτι ἀνφυισμένοι εἰσίν. καὶ οὐχ ἥσσον

1. κατασκευὴ ABF
διεζωμένοι Phot. Suid.: διεζωσμένοι codd.
τείχεσι Herwerden
EG: ἀντισχοῦσαι cett.

10. πέπαυνται Reiske

13. 19. ἐκτίζοντο καὶ

23. ἀντίσχουσαν Poppo: ἀντισχοῦσαν

λησταὶ ἡσαν οἱ νησιῶται, Κâρες τε ὅντες καὶ Φοίνικες· οὗτοι γὰρ δὴ τὰς πλειστας τῶν νήσων ὕκησαν. μαρτύριον δέ· Δήλου γὰρ καθαιρομένης ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ τῶν θηκῶν ἀναιρεθεισῶν ὅσαι ἡσαν τῶν τεθνεώτων ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, ὑπὲρ ἡμισυ Κâρες ἐφάνησαν, γνωσθέντες τῇ τε σκευῇ τῶν ὅπλων ξυντεθαμμένη καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ ὃ νῦν ἔτι θάπτουσιν. καταστάντος δὲ τοῦ Μίρω ναυτικοῦ πλαιμώτερα 2 ἐγένετο παρ' ἀλλήλους (οἱ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν νήσων κακούργοι ἀνέστησαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὅτεπερ καὶ τὰς πολλὰς αὐτῶν κατώκιζε), καὶ οἱ παρὰ 3 θάλασσαν ἄνθρωποι μᾶλλον ἥδη τὴν κτῆσιν τῶν χρημάτων ποιούμενοι βεβαιότερον ὕκουν, 15 καὶ τινες καὶ τείχη περιεβάλλοντο ὡς πλουσιώτεροι ἔαυτῶν γιγνόμενοι· ἐφιέμενοι γὰρ τῶν κερδῶν οἱ τε ἡσσους ὑπέμενον τὴν τῶν κρεισσόνων δουλείαν, οἱ τε δυνατώτεροι περιουσίας ἔχοντες προσεποιοῦντο ὑπηκόους τὰς ἐλάσσους 20 πόλεις. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ μᾶλλον ἥδη 4 ὅντες ὕστερον χρόνῳ ἐπὶ Τροίαν ἐστράτευσαν.

'Αγαμέμνων τέ μοι δοκεῖ τῶν τότε δυνάμει 9 προύχων καὶ οὐ τοσούντον τοῖς Τυνδάρεω ὄρκοις κατειλημμένους 25 τοὺς Ἐλένης μηνστῆρας ἄγων τὸν στόλον ἀγείραι. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ οἱ τὰ σαφέ- 2 στατα Πελοποννησίων μημῆ παρὰ τῶν πρότερον δεδεγμένοι Πέλοπά τε πρῶτον πλήθει

Condition of
Greece at the
time of the
Trojan War.

χρημάτων, ἀ ηλθεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἔχων ἐς ἀνθρώπους ἀπόρους, δύναμιν περιποιησάμενον τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τῆς χώρας ἐπηλυν ὅντα δῆμος σχεῖν, καὶ ὕστερον τοῖς ἐκγόνοις ἐπὶ μείζω ξυνενεχθῆναι, Εὐρυσθέως μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ 5 ὑπὸ Ἡρακλειδῶν ἀποθανόντος, Ἀτρέως δὲ μητρὸς ἀδελφοῦ ὅντος αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐπιτρέψαντος Εὐρυσθέως, δτ' ἐστράτευε, Μυκήνας τε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον Ἀτρεῖ (τυγχάνειν δὲ αὐτὸν φεύγοντα τὸν πατέρα διὰ τὸν Χρυσίππου 10 θάνατον), καὶ ὡς οὐκέτι ἀνεχώρησεν Εὐρυσθέυς, βουλομένων καὶ τῶν Μυκηναίων φόβῳ τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν καὶ ἄμα δυνατὸν δοκοῦντα εἶναι καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τεθεραπευκότα τῶν Μυκηναίων τε καὶ ὅσων Εὐρυσθέὺς ἦρχε τὴν βασιλείαν 15 Ἀτρέα παραλαβεῖν, καὶ τῶν Περσειδῶν τοὺς 3 Πέλοπίδας μείζους καταστῆναι. ἂ μοι δοκεῖ Ἀγαμέμνων παραλαβὼν καὶ ναυτικῷ [τε] ἄμα ἐπὶ πλέον τῶν ἄλλων ἵσχύσας, τὴν στρατείαν οὐ χάριτι τὸ πλέον ἦ φόβῳ ξυναγαγών ποιή- 20 4 σασθαι. φαίνεται γὰρ ναυσί τε πλείσταις αὐτὸς ἀφικόμενος καὶ Ἀρκάσι προσπαρασχών, ως "Ομηρος τοῦτο δεδήλωκεν, εἴ τῷ ἵκανῷ τεκμηριώσαι. καὶ ἐν τοῦ σκήπτρου ἄμα τῇ παραδόσει εἴρηκεν αὐτὸν πολλῆσι νήσοισι καὶ 25 "Αργεῖ παντὶ ἀνάσσειν· οὐκ ἀν οὖν νήσων ἔξω τῶν περιοικίδων (αὗται δὲ οὐκ ἀν πολλαὶ εἰεν)

3. ἐπηλυν Stahl: ἐπηλύτην codd.
add. οἷον Ἀτρεῖ Ἀγαμέμνονι ABEF

4. post ἐκγόνοις

18. τε secl. Krüger:
δὲ Stahl 19. στρατείαν Aem. Portus: στρατιὰν codd.

ἡ πειρώτης ὧν ἐκράτει, εἰ μή τι καὶ ναυτικὸν εἶχεν. εἰκάζειν δὲ χρὴ καὶ ταύτη τῇ στρατείᾳ οἴλα ἥν τὰ πρὸ αὐτῆς.

Καὶ ὅτι μὲν Μυκῆναι μικρὸν ἥν, ἢ εἴ τι 10
 τῶν τότε πόλισμα νῦν μὴ ἀξιόχρεων
 δοκεῖ εἶναι, οὐκ ἀκριβεῖ ἀν τις
 σημείῳ χρώμενος ἀπιστοίη μὴ γενέσθαι τὸν
 στόλον τοσοῦτον ὅσον οἴ τε ποιηταὶ εἰρήκασι
 καὶ ὁ λόγος κατέχει. Λακεδαιμονίων γὰρ εἰ 2
 10 ἡ πόλις ἐρημωθείη, λειφθείη δὲ τά τε ἰερὰ
 καὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς τὰ ἐδάφη, πολλὴν ἀν
 οἵμαι ἀπιστίαν τῆς δυνάμεως προελθόντος
 πολλοῦ χρόνου τοῖς ἔπειτα πρὸς τὸ κλέος
 αὐτῶν εἶναι (καίτοι Πελοποννήσου τῶν πέντε
 15 τὰς δύο μοίρας νέμονται, τῆς τε ξυμπάσης
 ἥγοῦνται καὶ τῶν ἔξω ξυμμάχων πολλῶν
 ὅμως δὲ οὔτε ξυνοικισθείσης πόλεως οὔτε ἰεροῖς
 καὶ κατασκευαῖς πολυτελέσι χρησαμένης, κατὰ
 κώμας δὲ τῷ παλαιῷ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τρόπῳ
 20 οἰκισθείσης, φαίνοιτ' ἀν ὑποδεεστέρα), Ἀθηναίων
 δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο παθόντων διπλασίαν ἀν τὴν
 δύναμιν εἰκάζεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς φαγερᾶς ὅψεως
 τῆς πόλεως ἡ ἔστιν. οὔκουν ἀπιστεῖν εἰκός, 3
 οὐδὲ τὰς ὅψεις τῶν πόλεων μᾶλλον σκοπεῖν ἡ
 25 τὰς δυνάμεις, νομίζειν δὲ τὴν στρατείαν ἐκείνην
 μεγίστην μὲν γενέσθαι τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς, λειπο-
 μένην δὲ τῶν νῦν, τῇ Ὁμήρου αὖ ποιήσει εἴ

The Greek fleet
was not a large
one.

2. στρατείᾳ Αεν. Portus: στρατιῷ codd. 17. post
 ξυνοικισθείσης add. τῆς Stephanus 25. στρατείαν csg: στρα-
 τιάν codd.

τι χρὴ κάνταῦθα πιστεύειν, ἦν εἰκὸς ἐπὶ το
μεῖζον μὲν ποιητὴν ὄντα κοσμῆσαι, ὅμως δὲ
4 φαίνεται καὶ οὕτως ἐνδεεστέρα. πεποίηκε γὰρ
χιλίων καὶ διακοσίων νεῶν, τὰς μὲν Βοιωτῶν
εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν, τὰς δὲ Φιλοκτήτου 5
πεντήκοντα, δηλῶν, ως ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, τὰς μεγίστας
καὶ ἐλαχίστας. ἄλλων γοῦν μεγέθους πέρι ἐν
νεῶν καταλόγῳ οὐκ ἐμνήσθη. αὐτερέται δὲ
ὅτι ἦσαν καὶ μάχιμοι πάντες, ἐν ταῖς Φιλο-
κτήτου ναυσὶ δεδήλωκεν. τοξότας γὰρ πάντας 10
πεποίηκε τοὺς προσκώπους. περίνεως δὲ οὐκ
εἰκὸς πολλοὺς ξυμπλεῖν ἔξω τῶν βασιλέων καὶ
τῶν μάλιστα ἐν τέλει, ἄλλως τε καὶ μέλλοντας
πέλαγος περαιώσεσθαι μετὰ σκευῶν πολεμικῶν,
οὐδ' αὖ τὰ πλοῖα κατάφαρκτα ἔχοντας, ἀλλὰ 15
τῷ παλαιῷ τρόπῳ ληστικώτερον παρεσκευα-
5 σμένα. πρὸς τὰς μεγίστας δ' οὖν καὶ ἐλαχίστας
ναῦς τὸ μέσον σκοποῦντι οὐ πολλοὶ φαίνονται
ἐλθόντες, ως ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος κοινῆ
πεμπόμενοι.

20

11 Αἴτιον δ' ἦν οὐχ ἡ ὀλιγανθρωπία τοσοῦτον

Had the expedi-
tion been on a
large scale, Troy
would soon have
been taken.

ὅσον ἡ ἀχρηματία. τῆς γὰρ τροφῆς
ἀπορίᾳ τόν τε στρατὸν ἐλάσσω
ἥγαγον καὶ δοσον ἥλπιζοι αὐτόθεν
πολεμοῦντα βιοτεύσειν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀφικόμενοι 25
μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν (δῆλον δέ τὸ γὰρ ἔρυμα τῷ
στρατοπέδῳ οὐκ ἀν ἐτειχίσαντο), φαίνονται δ'
οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα πάση τῇ δυνάμει χρησάμενοι,
ἀλλὰ πρὸς γεωργίαν τῆς Χερσονήσου τραπό-

17. δ' οὖν Bekker: οὖν Μ: γοῦν cett.

19. ξυνελθόντες G

μενοι καὶ ληστείαν τῆς τροφῆς ἀπορίᾳ. ἦ καὶ μᾶλλον οἱ Τρῷες αὐτῶν διεσπαρμένων τὰ δέκα ἔτη ἀντεῖχον βίᾳ, τοῖς αἱὲι ὑπολειπομένοις ἀντίπαλοι ὅντες. περιουσίαν δὲ εἰ ἥλθον 2
 5 ἔχοντες τροφῆς καὶ ὅντες ἀθρόοι ἄνευ ληστείας καὶ γεωργίας ξυνεχῶς τὸν πόλεμον διέφερον, ῥᾳδίως ἀν μάχῃ κρατοῦντες εἶλον, οἵ γε καὶ οὐχ ἀθρόοι, ἀλλὰ μέρει τῷ αἱὲι παρόντι ἀντεῖχον, πολιορκίᾳ δὲ ἀν προσκαθεζόμενοι ἐν 10 ἐλάσσονι τε χρόνῳ καὶ ἀπονώτερον τὴν Τροίαν εἶλον. ἀλλὰ δὶ' ἀχρηματίαν τά τε πρὸ τούτων ἀσθενῆ ἦν καὶ αὐτά γε δὴ ταῦτα, ὄνομαστό-
 15 τατα τῶν πρὶν γενόμενα, δηλοῦται τοῖς ἔργοις ὑποδεέστερα ὅντα τῆς φήμης καὶ τοῦ νῦν περὶ αὐτῶν διὰ τοὺς ποιητὰς λόγου κατεσχηκότος. ἐπεὶ καὶ μετὰ τὰ Τρωικὰ ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἔτι μεταν- 12
 20 ίστατο τε καὶ κατωκίζετο, ὥστε μὴ Greece after the Trojan War. 2 ἡσυχάσασαν αὐξηθῆναι. ή τε γὰρ ἀναχώρησις τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐξ Ἰλίου χρονία
 γενομένη πολλὰ ἐνεόχμωσε, καὶ στάσεις ἐν 25 ταῖς πόλεσιν ώς ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐγίγνοντο, ἀφ' ὧν ἐκπίπτοντες τὰς πόλεις ἔκτιζον. Βοιωτοί τε 3
 γὰρ οἱ νῦν ἐξηκοστῷ ἔτει μετὰ Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν ἐξ Ἀρνης ἀναστάντες ὑπὸ Θεσσαλῶν τὴν νῦν μὲν Βοιωτίαν, πρότερον δὲ Καδμηίδα γῆν καλουμένην ὡκισαν (ἥν δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπο-
 26 δασμὸς πρότερον ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ

7. εἶλον secl. Krüger
 ἦν . . . c. 20. 2 δηι Ἰπ- suppl. f foll. iv, v
 26. ὡκισαν c: ὡκησαν cett.

9. δ' secl. Krüger
 18. ἡσυχάσασα c

12. -νῆ
 27. ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ πρότερον c

ἐσ "Ιλιον ἐστράτευσαν), Δωριῆς τε ὁγδοηκοστῷ
ἔτει ξὺν Ἡρακλείδαις Πελοπόννησον ἔσχον.
4 μόλις τε ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ ἡσυχάσασα ἡ
Ἐλλὰς βεβαίως καὶ οὐκέτι ἀνισταμένη ἀποι-
κίας ἔξεπεμψε, καὶ "Ιωνας μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ 5
νησιωτῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς ὥκισαν, Ἰταλίας δὲ
καὶ Σικελίας τὸ πλεῖστον Πελοποννήσιοι τῆς
τε ἄλλης Ἐλλάδος ἔστιν ἀ χωρία. πάντα δὲ
ταῦτα ὕστερον τῶν Τρωικῶν ἐκτίσθη.

13 Δυνατωτέρας δὲ γιγνομένης τῆς Ἐλλάδος 10
καὶ τῶν χρημάτων τὴν κτῆσιν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἡ
πρότερον ποιουμένης τὰ πολλὰ τυραννίδες ἐν
ταῖς πόλεσι καθίσταντο, τῶν προσόδων μειζόνων
γιγνομένων (πρότερον δὲ ἡσαν ἐπὶ ρήτοῖς γέρασι
πατρικαὶ βασιλεῖαι), ναυτικά τε ἔξηρτύετο ἡ 15
Ἐλλάς, καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης μᾶλλον ἀντείχοντο.

2 Advance made
by Corinth. πρῶτοι δὲ Κορίνθιοι λέγονται ἐγγύ-
τατα τοῦ νῦν τρόπου μεταχειρίσαι
τὰ περὶ τὰς ναῦς, καὶ τριήρεις ἐν Κορίνθῳ
3 πρῶτον τῆς Ἐλλάδος ναυπηγηθῆναι. φαίνεται 20
δὲ καὶ Σαμίοις Ἀμεινοκλῆς Κορίνθιος ναυπηγὸς
ναῦς ποιήσας τέσσαρας ἔτη δὲ ἐστὶ μάλιστα
τριακόσια ἐς τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου
4 ὅτε Ἀμεινοκλῆς Σαμίοις ἦλθεν. ναυμαχία τε
παλαιτάτη ὥν ἵσμεν γίγνεται Κορινθίων πρὸς 25
Κερκυραίους. ἔτη δὲ μάλιστα καὶ ταύτη ἔξη-
κοντα καὶ διακόσια ἐστι μέχρι τοῦ αὐτοῦ

3. μέγις cfG 5. ἔξεπεμψε cfG 10. γενομένης GM
20. πρῶτον ἐν Κορίνθῳ BcEf || ἐνναυπηγηθῆναι cf suprascr. G¹
26. καὶ ταύτη cf: om. codd., add. G¹

χρόνου. οίκοῦντες γὰρ τὴν πόλιν οἱ Κορίνθιοι 5
ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἱσθμοῦ αἱεὶ δή ποτε ἐμπόριον εἶχον,
τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸ πάλαι κατὰ γῆν τὰ πλείω
ἢ κατὰ θάλασσαν, τῶν τε ἐντὸς Πελοποννήσου
5 καὶ τῶν ἔξω, διὰ τῆς ἐκείνων παρ' ἀλλήλους
ἐπιμισγόντων, χρήμασί τε δυνατοὶ ἦσαν, ὡς
καὶ τοῖς παλαιοῖς ποιηταῖς δεδήλωται ἀφιεὶὸν
γὰρ ἐπωνόμασαν τὸ χωρίον. ἐπειδή τε οἱ
"Ἑλληνες μᾶλλον ἐπλωξον, τὰς ναῦς κτησάμενοι
10 τὸ ληστικὸν καθήρουν, καὶ ἐμπόριον παρέ-
χοντες ἀμφότερα δυνατὴν ἔσχον χρημάτων
προσόδῳ τὴν πόλιν. καὶ Ἰωσιν ὕστερον πολὺ 6
γίγνεται ναυτικὸν ἐπὶ Κύρου Περσῶν
πρώτου βασιλεύοντος καὶ Καμβύσου
15 τοῦ νιέος αὐτοῦ, τῆς τε καθ' ἑαυτοὺς
θαλάσσης Κύρῳ πολεμοῦντες ἐκράτησάν τινα
χρόνον. καὶ Πολυκράτης Σάμου τυραννῶν ἐπὶ<sup>Strength of the
Ionians in the
time of Cyrus
the Elder.</sup>
Καμβύσου ναυτικῷ ἴσχύων ἄλλας τε τῶν
νήσων ὑπηκόους ἐποιήσατο καὶ Ἄργειαν ἐλῶν
20 ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Δηλίῳ. Φωκαῆς
τε Μασσαλίαν οἰκίζοντες Καρχηδονίους ἐνίκων
ναυμαχοῦντες. δυνατώτατα γὰρ ταῦτα τῶν
ναυτικῶν ἦν. φαίνεται δὲ καὶ ταῦτα πολλαῖς
γενεαῖς ὕστερα γενόμενα τῶν Τρωικῶν τριήρεσι
25 μὲν ὀλίγαις χρώμενα, πεντηκοντόροις δ' ἔτι
καὶ πλοίοις μακροῖς ἐξηρτυμένα ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνα.
ὸλίγον τε πρὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν καὶ τοῦ Δαρείου 2
θανάτου, ὃς μετὰ Καμβύσην Περσῶν ἐβασί-
λευσε, τριήρεις περί τε Σικελίαν τοῖς τυράννοις
30 ἐσ πλῆθος ἐγένοντο καὶ Κερκυραίοις· ταῦτα γὰρ

τελευταῖα πρὸ τῆς Ξέρξου στρατείας ναυτικὰ
 3 ἀξιόλογα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι κατέστη. Αἰγινῆται
 Late origin of
the Athenian
sea power.
 γὰρ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ εἴ τινες
 ἄλλοι, βραχέα ἐκέκτηντο, καὶ τούτων
 τὰ πολλὰ πεντηκοντόρους· ὅψέ τε ἀφ' οὐ 5
 Ἀθηναίους Θεμιστοκλῆς ἔπεισεν Αἰγινῆταις
 πολεμοῦντας, καὶ ἅμα τοῦ Βαρβάρου προσ-
 δοκίμου ὅντος, τὰς ναῦς ποιήσασθαι αἰσπερ
 καὶ ἐναυμάχησαν· καὶ αὗται οὕπω εἶχον διὰ
 πάσης καταστρώματα. 10

15 Τὰ μὲν οὖν ναυτικὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοιαῦτα
 The wars
inconsiderable.
 ἦν, τά τε παλαιὰ καὶ τὰ ὕστερον
 γενόμενα. ἵσχὺν δὲ περιεποιήσαντο
 ὅμως οὐκ ἐλαχίστη τινὶ οἱ προσσχόντες αὐτοῖς χρη-
 μάτων τε προσόδῳ καὶ ἄλλων ἀρχῇ· ἐπιπλέοντες 15
 γὰρ τὰς νήσους κατεστρέφοντες, καὶ μάλιστα ὅσοι
 2 μὴ διαρκῆ εἶχον χώραν. κατὰ γῆν δὲ πόλεμος,
 ὅθεν τις καὶ δύναμις παρεγένετο, οὐδεὶς ξυνέστη·
 πάντες δὲ ἦσαν, ὅσοι καὶ ἐγένοντο, πρὸς ὁμόρους
 τοὺς σφετέρους ἐκάστοις, καὶ ἐκδήμους στρατείας 25
 πολὺ ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἐπ' ἄλλων καταστροφῆ
 οὐκ ἐξῆσαν οἱ Ἑλληνες. οὐ γὰρ ξυνειστήκεσαν
 πρὸς τὰς μεγίστας πόλεις ὑπήκοοι, οὐδὲ αὐ-
 τοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἵσης κοινὰς στρατείας ἐποιοῦντο,
 κατ' ἄλλήλους δὲ μᾶλλον ώς ἔκαστοι οἱ 25
 3 ἀστυγείτονες ἐπολέμουν. μάλιστα δὲ ἐς τὸν
 πάλαι ποτὲ γενόμενον πόλεμον Χαλκιδέων καὶ

3. εἴ τινες] οἵτινες cff[G]
 codd. 14. προσσχόντες A: προσέχοντες E: προσχόντες
 cett. 23. αῦ om. ABEGM

13. γενόμενα csg: γιγνόμενα

Ἐρετριῶν καὶ τὸ ἄλλο Ἑλληνικὸν ἐς ξυμ-
μαχίαν ἑκατέρων διέστη. ἐπεγένετο δὲ ἄλλοις 16
τε ἄλλοθι κωλύματα μὴ αὐξηθῆναι,
καὶ Ἰωσὶ προχωρησάντων ἐπὶ<sup>Growth of
Persian power.</sup>
5 μέγα τῶν πραγμάτων Κῦρος καὶ ἡ Περσικὴ^{βασιλεία} Κροῖσον καθελοῦσα καὶ ὅσα ἐντὸς
"Αλυος ποταμοῦ πρὸς θάλασσαν ἐπεστράτευσε
καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ πόλεις ἐδούλωσε, Δαρεῖος
τε ὑστερον τῷ Φοινίκων ναυτικῷ κρατῶν καὶ¹⁷
10 τὰς νήσους. τύραννοί τε ὅσοι ἦσαν ἐν ταῖς
Ἐλληνικαῖς πόλεσι, τὸ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν
μόνον προορώμενοι ἐς τε τὸ σῶμα
καὶ ἐς τὸ τὸν ἴδιον οἰκον αὔξειν
δι' ἀσφαλείας ὅσον ἐδύναντο μάλιστα τὰς
15 πόλεις ὥκουν, ἐπράχθη δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν
ἔργον ἀξιόλογον, εἰ μὴ εἴ τι πρὸς περιοίκους
τοὺς αὐτῶν ἑκάστοις οἱ γὰρ ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἐπὶ<sup>The Greek
despots did
nothing con-
siderable.</sup>
πλεῖστον ἔχωρησαν δυνάμεως. οὕτω παντα-
χόθεν ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον κατείχετο
20 μήτε κοινῇ φανερὸν μηδὲν κατεργάζεσθαι, κατὰ
πόλεις τε ἀτολμοτέρα εἶναι.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὗ τε Ἀθηναίων τύραννοι καὶ 18
οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἐπὶ πολὺ<sup>Beginning of the
Persian wars.</sup>
καὶ πρὶν τυραννευθείσης οἱ πλεῖστοι
25 καὶ τελευταῖοι πλὴν τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ ὑπὸ^λ
Λακεδαιμονίων κατελύθησαν (ἡ γὰρ Λακε-
δαίμων μετὰ τὴν κτίσιν τῶν νῦν ἐνοικούντων

6. βασιλεία] ἔξουσία f 9. τε] δὲ ABGM 10. τε]
δὲ ABEGM 15. δὲ] τε ABEGM ἀπ' αὐτῶν οὐδὲν ABEGM
16. εἰ om. ABEGM 27. κτῆσιν ABEGM

αὐτὴν Δωριῶν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ὡν ἵσμεν χρόνον στασιάσασα ὅμως ἐκ παλαιτάτου καὶ ηὔνομήθη καὶ αἰεὶ ἀτυράννευτος ἦν· ἔτη γάρ ἐστι μάλιστα τετρακόσια καὶ δλίγῳ πλείω ἐς τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ἀφ' οὐ Λακε-⁵ δαιμόνιοι τῇ αὐτῇ πολιτείᾳ χρῶνται, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ δυνάμενοι καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι καθίστασαν), μετὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν τυράννων κατάλυσιν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐ πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ὕστερον καὶ ἡ ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχη Μήδων ¹⁰ 2 πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἐγένετο. δεκάτῳ δὲ ἔτει μετ' αὐτὴν αὐθις ὁ βάρβαρος τῷ μεγάλῳ στόλῳ ¹⁵ The invasion of Xerxes. The Greeks make common cause. ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα δουλωσόμενος ἥλθεν. καὶ μεγάλου κινδύνου ἐπικρεμασθέντος οἴ τε Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῶν ξυμπολεμησάντων Ἑλλήνων ἡγήσαντο δυνάμει προύχοντες, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπιόντων τῶν Μήδων διανοηθέντες ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἀνασκευασάμενοι ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐσβάντες ναυτικοὶ ἐγένοντο. κοινῇ τε ἀπωσάμενοι τὸν βάρβαρον, ὕστερον οὐ πολλῷ διεκρίθησαν πρὸς τε Ἀθηναίους καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους οἴ τε ἀποστάντες βασιλέως Ἑλληνες καὶ οἱ ξυμπολεμήσαντες. δυνάμει γὰρ ταῦτα μέγιστα διεφάνη. ἵσχυον γὰρ οἱ μὲν κατὰ γῆν, οἱ δὲ ναυσίν. ²⁵ 3 καὶ δλίγον μὲν χρόνον ξυνέμεινεν ἡ ὅμαιχμία, ἔπειτα διενεχθέντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ

5. ἀφ' οὐ] & M Hermogenes: ἀ ἀφ' οὐ AB[G]
βάντες ABEGM 24. δὴ ἐφάνη Stephanus

19. ἐμ-
27. post
ἔπειτα add. δὲ ABEGM || post καὶ add. οἱ AEM Suid.

Αθηναῖοι ἐπολέμησαν μετὰ τῶν ξυμμάχων πρὸς ἀλλήλους· καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ Ἑλλήνων εἴ τινές που διασταῖεν, πρὸς τούτους The unanimity
was short-lived. ἥδη ἔχώρουν. ὥστε ἀπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν ἐς τόνδε 5 αἰεὶ τὸν πόλεμον τὰ μὲν σπενδόμενοι, τὰ δὲ πολεμοῦντες ἢ ἀλλήλοις ἢ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ξυμμάχοις ἀφισταμένοις εὑ̄ παρεσκευάσαντο τὰ πολέμια καὶ ἐμπειρότεροι ἐγένοντο μετὰ κινδύνων τὰς μελέτας ποιούμενοι. καὶ οἱ μὲν Λακε- 19 10 δαιμόνιοι οὐχ ὑποτελεῖς ἔχοντες φόρου τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἤγοῦντο, κατ' ὀλιγαρχίαν δὲ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς μόνον ἐπιτηδείως ὅπως πολιτεύσουσι θεραπεύοντες, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ναῦς τε τῶν πόλεων τῷ χρόνῳ παραλαβόντες πλὴν Χίων καὶ 15 Λεσβίων, καὶ χρήματα τοῖς πᾶσι τάξαντες φέρειν. καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς ἐς τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ἡ ἴδια παρασκευὴ μείζων ἢ ώς τὰ κράτιστά ποτε μετὰ ἀκραιφνοῦς τῆς ξυμμαχίας ἥνθησαν.

20 Τὰ μὲν οὖν παλαιὰ τοιαῦτα ηὔρον, χαλεπὰ 20 δύντα παντὶ ἔξῆς τεκμηρίῳ πιστεῦσαι. οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι τὰς ἀκοὰς τῶν προγεγενημένων, καὶ ἦν ἐπιχώρια σφίσιν ἢ, ὁμοίως ἀβασανίστως παρ' ἀλλήλων 25 δέχονται. Ἀθηναίων γοῦν τὸ πλῆθος "Ιππαρχον" οἴονται ὑφ' Ἀρμοδίου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος τύραννον δύντα ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἵσασιν ὅτι "Ιππίας μὲν πρεσβύτατος ὡν ἥρχε τῶν Πεισιστράτου σίέων, "Ιππαρχος δὲ καὶ Θεσ-

General
character of
early Greek
history.

σαλὸς ἀδελφοὶ ἦσαν αὐτοῦ, ὑποτοπήσαντες δέ τι ἐκείνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ παραχρῆμα Ἀρμόδιος καὶ Ἀριστογείτων ἐκ τῶν ξυνειδότων σφίσιν Ἰππίᾳ μεμηνῦσθαι τοῦ μὲν ἀπέσχοντο ὡς προειδότος, Βουλόμενοι δὲ πρὶν ξυλληφθῆναι 5 δράσαντές τι καὶ κινδυνεῦσαι, τῷ Ἰππάρχῳ περιτυχόντες περὶ τὸ Λεωκόρειον καλούμενον τὴν Παναθηναϊκὴν πομπὴν διακοσμοῦντι ἀπέ-
3 κτειναν. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὅντα καὶ οὐ χρόνῳ ἀμνηστούμενα καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι 10 "Ελληνες οὐκ ὄρθως οἴονται, ὕσπερ τούς τε Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέας μὴ μιᾶς ψήφῳ προστίθεσθαι ἐκάτερον, ἀλλὰ δυοῖν, καὶ τὸν Πιτανάτην λόχον αὐτοῖς εἶναι, ὃς οὐδὲ ἐγένετο πώποτε. οὕτως ἀταλαίπωρος τοῖς πολλοῖς ἡ 15 ζήτησις τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἔτοιμα μᾶλλον τρέπονται. ἐκ δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων τεκμηρίων ὅμως τοιαῦτα ἀν τις νομίζων μάλιστα ἀ διῆλθον οὐχ ἀμαρτάνοι, καὶ οὔτε ὡς ποιητὰς ὑμνήκασι περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ 20 μεῖζον κοσμοῦντες μᾶλλον πιστεύων, οὔτε ὡς λογογράφοι ξυνέθεσαν ἐπὶ τὸ προσαγωγότερον τῇ ἀκροάσει ἡ ἀληθέστερον, ὅντα ἀνεξέλεγκτα καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ χρόνου αὐτῶν ἀπίστως ἐπὶ τὸ μυθῶδες ἐκνευικηκότα, ηὔρησθαι δὲ ἡγησά-
25 μενος ἐκ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων σημείων ὡς παλαιὰ εἶναι ἀποχρώντως. καὶ ὁ πόλεμος οὕτος, καίπερ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν ὧ μὲν ἀν πολεμῶσι τὸν παρόντα αἰεὶ

This war
surpasses
others.

7. περὶ] παρὰ Arist. Ἀθ. Πολ. 18. 3 (nisi ad vi. 57. 3 spectat)

μέγιστον κρινόντων, παυσαμένων δὲ τὰ ἀρχαῖα
μᾶλλον θαυμαζόντων, ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων
σκοποῦσι δηλώσει ὅμως μείζων γεγενημένος
αὐτῶν.

Καὶ ὅσα μὲν λόγῳ εἰπον ἔκαστοι ἡ 22
μέλλοντες πολεμήσειν ἡ ἐν αὐτῷ
ἥδη ὄντες, χαλεπὸν τὴν ἀκρίβειαν
αὐτὴν τῶν λεχθέντων διαμνημονεῦσαι
ἥν ἐμοί τε ὡν αὐτὸς ἥκουσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοθέν
10 ποθεν ἐμοὶ ἀπαγγέλλουσιν· ώς δ' ἀν ἐδόκουν
ἐμοὶ ἔκαστοι περὶ τῶν αἰεὶ παρόντων τὰ δέοντα
μάλιστ' εἰπεῖν, ἔχομένῳ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τῆς
ξυμπάσης γνώμης τῶν ἀληθῶς λεχθέντων,
οὗτως εἴρηται. - τὰ δ' ἔργα τῶν πραχθέντων 2
15 ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ παρατυχόντος
πυνθανόμενος ἡξίωσα γράφειν, οὐδὲ ώς ἐμοὶ
ἐδόκει, ἀλλ' οὶς τε αὐτὸς παρῆν καὶ παρὰ τῶν
ἄλλων ὅσον δυνατὸν ἀκριβείᾳ περὶ ἔκάστου
ἐπεξελθών. ἐπιπόνως δὲ ηύρισκετο, διότι οἱ 3
20 παρόντες τοῖς ἔργοις ἔκάστοις οὐ ταύτα περὶ
τῶν αὐτῶν ἔλεγον, ἀλλ' ώς ἔκατέρων τις
εύνοίας ἡ μνήμης ἔχοι. καὶ ἐς μὲν
ἀκρόασιν ἵσως τὸ μὴ μυθῶδες αὐτῶν
ἀτερπέστερον φανεῖται· ὅσοι δὲ
25 βουλήσονται τῶν τε γενομένων τὸ σαφὲς
σκοπεῖν καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ποτὲ αὐθις κατὰ
τὸ ἀνθρώπινον τοιούτων καὶ παραπλησίων

Character of
this history.
Difficulty of
obtaining re-
liable evidence.

This work may
be less pleasing,
but it will be
more instructive
than others.

9. μοι CG Dion. Hal. 17. ἐδόκει CG: δοκεῖ cett. Dion.
Hal. 21. ἔκατέρων CGM Dion. Hal.: ἔκατέρῳ cett. 27.
ἀνθρώπειον ABEFM Dion. Hal.

ἔσεσθαι, ὡφέλιμα κρίνειν αὐτὰ ἀρκούντως ἔξει.
κτῆμά τε ἐσ αἰεὶ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγώνισμα ἐσ τὸ
παραχρῆμα ἀκούειν ξύγκειται.

23 Τῶν δὲ πρότερον ἔργων μέγιστον ἐπράχθη
τὸ Μηδικόν, καὶ τοῦτο ὅμως δυοῖν ναυμαχίαιν
καὶ πεζομαχίαιν ταχεῖαν τὴν κρίσιν ἔσχεν.
τούτου δὲ τοῦ πολέμου μῆκός τε μέγα προύβη,
παθήματά τε ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι ἐν αὐτῷ τῇ
2 Ἑλλάδι οὐα οὐχ ἔτερα ἐν ἵσῳ χρόνῳ. οὔτε
γὰρ πόλεις τοσαίδε ληφθεῖσαι ἡρημώθησαν, αἱ 10
μὲν ὑπὸ Βαρβάρων, αἱ δὲ ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν
ἀντιπολεμούντων (εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ καὶ οἰκήτορας
μετέβαλον ἀλισκόμεναι), οὔτε φυγαὶ τοσαίδε
ἀνθρώπων καὶ φόνος, ὁ μὲν κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν
3 πόλεμον, ὁ δὲ διὰ τὸ στασιάζειν. τά τε 15
πρότερον ἀκοῇ μὲν λεγόμενα, ἔργῳ δὲ σπανιώ-
τερον βεβαιούμενα οὐκ ἄπιστα κατέστη, σεισ-
μῶν τε πέρι, οἱ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἄμα μέρος γῆς
καὶ ἵσχυρότατοι οἱ αὐτοὶ ἐπέσχον, ἡλίου τε
ἐκλείψεις, αἱ πυκνότεραι παρὰ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πρὸν 20
χρόνου μνημονευόμενα ξυνέβησαν, αὐχμοὶ τε
ἔστι παρ' οἷς μεγάλοι καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ
λιμοὶ καὶ ἡ οὐχ ἡκιστα βλάφασα καὶ μέρος
τι φθείρασα ἡ λοιμώδης νόσος. ταῦτα γὰρ
πάντα μετὰ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ἄμα ξυνεπέθετο. 25

4 Origin of this war. οὐρέαντο δὲ αὐτοῦ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ
Πελοποννήσιοι λύσαντες τὰς τρια-
κοντούτεις σπουδὰς αἱ αὐτοῖς ἐγένοντο μετὰ
5 Εύβοίας ἄλωσιν. διότι δὲ ἔλυσαν, τὰς αἰτίας

προύγραψα πρῶτον καὶ τὰς διαφοράς, τοῦ μή τινα ζητῆσαι ποτε ἔξ ὅτου τοσοῦτος πόλεμος τοῖς "Ελλησι κατέστη. τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀληθεσ- 6 τάτην πρόφασιν, ἀφανεστάτην δὲ λόγῳ, τοὺς 5 'Αθηναίους ἥγοῦμαι μεγάλους γιγνομένους καὶ φόβον παρέχοντας τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀναγκάσαι ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν· αἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ φανερὸν λεγόμεναι αἰτίαι αἵδ' ἥσαν ἑκατέρων, ἀφ' ὧν λύσαντες τὰς σπουδὰς ἐς τὸν πόλεμον κατέ- 10 στησαν.

'Επίδαμνός ἔστι πόλις ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐσπλέοντι 24
ἐς τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον· προσοικοῦσι The causes
δὲ αὐτὴν Ταυλάντιοι βάρβαροι. openly alleged.

'Ιλλυρικὸν ἔθνος. ταύτην ἀπώκισαν μὲν Κερκυ- 2
15 ραῖοι, οἰκιστὴς δὲ ἐγένετο Φαλίος Ἐρατοκλείδου Κορίνθιος γένος τῶν ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους, κατὰ δὴ τὸν παλαιὸν νόμον ἐκ τῆς μητροπόλεως κατα-
κληθείσ. ξυνώκισαν δὲ καὶ Κορινθίων τινὲς 3
20 καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου Δωρικοῦ γένους. προελθόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ἐγένετο ἡ τῶν 'Επιδαμνίων δύναμις μεγάλη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος· στασιά- 4
σαντες δὲ ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἔτη πολλά, ὡς λέγεται,
ἀπὸ πολέμου τινὸς τῶν προσοίκων βαρβύρων
ἐφθάρησαν καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως τῆς πολλῆς 25
ἐστερήθησαν. τὰ δὲ τελευταῖα πρὸ 5
τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ὁ δῆμος αὐτῶν Revolution in
Epidamnus.

1. ἔγραψα CG 2. τινας CGm Dion. Hal. (altero loco)
12. ἐς add. Demetrius: om. eodd. 21. δύναμις CG : δύναμις
πόλις EM : πόλις ABF γρ. c

έξεδίωξε τοὺς δυνατούς, οἱ δὲ ἐπελθόντες μετὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐλήζοντο τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει κατά τε γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν. οἱ δὲ ἐν

Those in
Epidamnus sent
to Corcyra
asking for help.

τῇ πόλει ὅντες Ἐπιδάμνιοι ἐπειδὴ ἐπιέζοντο, πέμπουσιν ἐς τὴν Κέρ-

5 κυραν πρέσβεις ὡς μητρόπολιν

οῦσαν, δεόμενοι μὴ σφᾶς περιορᾶν φθειρομένους, ἀλλὰ τούς τε φεύγοντας ξυναλλάξαι σφίσι καὶ τὸν τῶν βαρβάρων πόλεμον κατα-

7 The request
refused. λῦσαι. ταῦτα δὲ ἰκέται καθεζόμενοι 10 ἐς τὸ Ἡραιον ἐδέοντο. οἱ δὲ Κερκυραῖοι τὴν ἰκετείαν οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλ' ἀπράκτους ἀπέπεμψαν.

25 Γνόντες δὲ οἱ Ἐπιδάμνιοι οὐδεμίαν σφίσιν ἀπὸ Κερκύρας τιμωρίαν οὖσαν ἐν 15 ἀπόρῳ εῖχοντο θέσθαι τὸ παρόν, καὶ πέμψαντες ἐς Δελφοὺς τὸν θεὸν ἐπήροντο εἰ παραδοῖεν Κορινθίοις τὴν πόλιν ὡς οἰκισταῖς καὶ τιμωρίαν τινὰ πειρῶντ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν ποιεῖσθαι. ὁ δ' αὐτοῖς ἀνεῖλε 20 παραδοῦναι καὶ ἡγεμόνας ποιεῖσθαι. ἐλθόντες δὲ οἱ Ἐπιδάμνιοι ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον κατὰ τὸ μαντεῖον παρέδοσαν τὴν ἀποικίαν, τὸν τε οἰκιστὴν ἀποδεικνύντες σφῶν ἐκ Κορίνθου ὅντα καὶ τὸ χρηστήριον δηλοῦντες, ἐδέοντό τε μὴ 25 σφᾶς περιορᾶν φθειρομένους, ἀλλ' ἐπαμῦναι. 3 Κορίνθιοι δὲ κατά τε τὸ δίκαιον ὑπεδέξαντο

1. ἐπελθόντες Haase: ἀπελθόντες cold. C[G] 20. αὐτοῖς] αὐτὴν C γρ. G ABEF

18. ἐπηρώτων 26. διαφθειρομένους

τὴν τιμωρίαν, νομίζοντες οὐχ ἡσσον ἑαυτῶν εἶναι τὴν ἀποικίαν ἡ Κερκυραίων, ἀμα ^{The request granted.} δὲ καὶ μίσει τῶν Κερκυραίων, ὅτι αὐτῶν παρημέλουν ὅντες ἀποικοι· οὕτε γὰρ ἐν 4 πανηγύρεσι ταῖς κοιναῖς διδόντες γέρα τὰ νομιζόμενα οὕτε Κορινθίων ἀνδρὶ προκαταρχόμενοι τῶν ιερῶν ὥσπερ αἱ ἄλλαι ἀποικίαι, περιφρονοῦντες δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ χρημάτων δυνάμει 10 ὅντες κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ὁμοία τοῖς Ἑλλήνων πλουσιωτάτοις καὶ τῇ ἐς πόλεμον παρασκευῇ δυνατώτεροι, ναυτικῷ δὲ καὶ πολὺ προύχειν ἔστιν ὅτε ἐπαιρόμενοι καὶ κατὰ τὴν Φαιάκων προενοίκησιν τῆς Κερκύρας κλέος ἔχόντων τὰ περὶ τὰς ναῦς (ἢ καὶ μᾶλλον 15 ἔξηρτύοντο τὸ ναυτικὸν καὶ ἡσαν οὐκ ἀδύνατοι· τριήρεις γὰρ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ὑπῆρχον αὐτοῖς ὅτε ἥρχοντο πολεμεῖν), πάντων οὖν τούτων 26 ἐγκλήματα ἔχοντες οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἐπεμπον ἐς τὴν Ἐπίδαμνον ἀσμενοι τὴν ὠφελίαν, οἰκήτορά 20 τε τὸν βουλόμενον ἴέναι κελεύοντες καὶ Ἀμπρακιωτῶν καὶ Λευκαδίων καὶ ἑαυτῶν φρουρούς. ἐπορεύθησαν δὲ πεζῇ ἐς Ἀπολλωνίαν, Κορινθίων 25 οὖσαν ἀποικίαν, δέει τῶν Κερκυραίων μὴ κωλύωνται ὑπ' αὐτῶν κατὰ θάλασσαν περαιούμενοι.

Κερκυραῖοι δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἥσθοντο τούς τε οἰκήτορας καὶ φρουροὺς ἥκοντας ἐς τὴν ^{Corcyra intervenes.} Ἐπίδαμνον τὴν τε ἀποικίαν Κοριν-

4. γὰρ secl. Reiske 9. ὁμοίᾳ ΑΒ (ι om. A. adscr. B)
12. post τὴν add. τῶν ΑΒΕΦΜ 15. τὰ ναυτικὰ ΕΓΜ

θίοις δεδομένην, ἔχαλέπαινον· καὶ πλεύσαντες εὐθὺς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ναυσὶ καὶ ὕστερον ἑτέρῳ στόλῳ τούς τε φεύγοντας ἐκέλευνον κατ' ἐπήρειαν δέχεσθαι αὐτούς (ἢλθον γὰρ ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν οἱ τῶν Ἐπιδαμνίων φυγάδες, τάφους ⁵ τε ἀποδεικνύντες καὶ ξυγγένειαν, ἣν προϊσχόμενοι ἐδέοντο σφᾶς κατάγειν) τούς τε φρουροὺς οὓς Κορίνθιοι ἔπειμψαν καὶ τοὺς οἰκήτορας ⁴ ἀποπέμπειν. οἱ δὲ Ἐπιδάμνιοι οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ὑπήκουσαν, ἀλλὰ στρατεύουσιν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οἱ ¹⁰ Κερκυραῖοι τεσσαράκοντα ναυσὶ μετὰ τῶν φυγάδων ὡς κατάξουτες, καὶ τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς ⁵ προσλαβόντες. προσκαθεζόμενοι δὲ τὴν πόλιν προεῖπον Ἐπιδαμνίων τε τὸν βουλόμενον καὶ τοὺς ξένους ἀπαθεῖς ἀπιέναι. εἰ δὲ μή, ὡς ¹⁵ πολεμίοις χρήσεσθαι. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐπείθοντο, οἱ μὲν Κερκυραῖοι (ἔστι δ' ἵσθμὸς τὸ χωρίον) ²⁷ ἐπολιόρκουν τὴν πόλιν, Κορίνθιοι δ', ὡς αὐτοῖς Corinth prepares a large force. ὅτι πολιορκοῦνται, παρεσκευάζοντο ²⁰ στρατείαν, καὶ ἅμα ἀποικίαν ἐς τὴν Ἐπίδαμνον ἐκήρυσσον ἐπὶ τῇ ἵσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ τὸν βουλόμενον ²⁵ ιέναι. εἰ δέ τις τὸ παραντίκα μὲν μὴ ἐθέλει ξυμπλεῖν, μετέχειν δὲ βούλεται τῆς ἀποικίας, πεντήκοντα δραχμὰς καταθέντα ^{24.} Κορινθίας μένειν. ἡσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ πλέοντες ² πολλοὶ καὶ οἱ τάργυριον καταβάλλοντες. ἐδεή-

6. ἐπιδεικνύντες B 7. post ἐδέοντο add. τε ABEFM
 16. χρήσεσθαι C: χρήσασθαι cett. 21. στρατιάν ABE 24.
 ἐθέλει C: ἐθέλοι cett. Phot.

θησαν δὲ καὶ τῶν Μεγαρέων ναυσὶ σφᾶς ξυμπροπέμψαι, εἰ ἄρα κωλύοιντο ὑπὸ Κερκυραίων πλεῖν· οἱ δὲ παρεσκευάζοντο αὐτοῖς ὀκτὼ ναυσὶ ξυμπλεῖν, καὶ Παλῆς Κεφαλλήνων 5 τέσσαρσιν. καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίων ἐδεήθησαν, οἱ παρέσχον πέντε, Ἐρμιονῆς δὲ μίαν καὶ Τροιζήνιοι δύο, Λευκάδιοι δὲ δέκα καὶ Ἀμπρακιῶται ὀκτώ. Θηβαίους δὲ χρήματα ἤτησαν καὶ Φλειασίους, 10 Ἡλείους δὲ ναῦς τε κενὰς καὶ χρήματα. αὐτῶν δὲ Κορινθίων νῆες παρεσκευάζοντο τριάκοντα καὶ τρισχίλιοι ὄπλιται.

28

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπύθοντο οἱ Κερκυραῖοι τὴν παρασκευήν, ἐλθόντες ἐς Κόρινθον Dispute between Corinth and Corecyra. μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Σικυωνίων 15 πρέσβεων, οὓς παρέλαβον, ἐκέλευον Κορινθίους τοὺς ἐν Ἐπιδάμνῳ φρουρούς τε καὶ οἰκήτορας ἀπάγειν, ώς οὐ μετὸν αὐτοῖς Ἐπιδάμνου. εἰ 2 δέ τι ἀντιποιοῦνται, δίκας ἥθελον δοῦναι ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ παρὰ πόλεσιν αἷς ἀν ἀμφότεροι 20 ξυμβῶσιν· ὀποτέρων δ' ἀν δικασθῆ εἶναι τὴν ἀποικίαν, τούτους κρατεῖν. ἥθελον δὲ καὶ τῷ 25 ἐν Δελφοῖς μαντείῳ ἐπιτρέψαι. πόλεμον δὲ 3 οὐκ εἴων ποιεῖν· εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀναγκασθήσεσθαι ἔφασαν, ἐκείνων βιαζομένων, φίλους 40 ποιεῖσθαι οὓς οὐ βούλονται ἔτέρους τῶν νῦν ὄντων μᾶλλον ὡφελίας ἔνεκα. οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι 45 ἀπεκρίναντο αὐτοῖς, ἣν τάς τε ναῦς καὶ τοὺς Βαρβάρους ἀπὸ Ἐπιδάμνου ἀπαγάγωσι, βουλεύ-

2. ξυμπροπέμψειν ABEFM

28. ἀπάγωσι ABEFM γρ. G

3. δέ] τε CG

βουλεύσασθαι CG

12. ἐπεὶ CG

σεσθαι· πρότερον δ' οὐ καλῶς ἔχειν τοὺς μὲν 5 πολιορκεῖσθαι, αὐτοὺς δὲ δικάζεσθαι. Κερκυ-
ραῖοι δὲ ἀντέλεγον, ἦν καὶ ἐκεῖνοι τοὺς ἐν
'Επιδάμνῳ ἀπαγάγωσι, ποιήσειν ταῦτα· ἔτοιμοι
δὲ εἶναι καὶ ὥστε ἀμφοτέρους μένειν κατὰ 5
χώραν, σπουδὰς δὲ ποιήσασθαι ἔως ἂν ἡ δίκη
29 γένηται. Κορίνθιοι δὲ οὐδὲν τούτων ὑπήκουον,
ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πλήρεις αὐτοῖς ἦσαν αἱ νῆσοι καὶ
οἱ ξύμμαχοι παρῆσαν, προπέμψαντες κήρυκα
πρότερον πόλεμον προεροῦντα Κερκυραίοις, 10
ἄραντες ἐβδομήκοντα ναυσὶ καὶ πέντε δισχιλίοις
τε ὄπλίταις ἐπλεον ἐπὶ τὴν 'Επίδαμνον Κερκυ-
ραῖοις ἐναντία πολεμήσοντες· ἐστρατήγει δὲ
τῶν μὲν νεῶν 'Αριστεὺς ὁ Πελλίχον καὶ
Καλλικράτης ὁ Καλλίου καὶ Τιμάνωρ ὁ 15
Τιμάνθους, τοῦ δὲ πεζοῦ 'Αρχέτιμός τε ὁ
3 Εὐρυτίμου καὶ 'Ισαρχίδας ὁ 'Ισάρχου. ἐπειδὴ
δ' ἐγένοντο ἐν 'Ακτίῳ τῆς 'Ανακτορίας γῆς,
οὐ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ 'Απόλλωνός ἐστιν, ἐπὶ τῷ
στόματι τοῦ 'Αμπρακικοῦ κόλπου, οἱ Κερκυραῖοι 20
κήρυκά τε προύπεμψαν αὐτοῖς ἐν ἀκατίῳ
ἀπεροῦντα μὴ πλεῦν ἐπὶ σφᾶς καὶ τὰς ναῦς
ἄμα ἐπλήρουν, ζεύξαντές τε τὰς παλαιὰς ὥστε
πλωίμους εἶναι καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐπισκευάσαντες.
4 ὡς δὲ ὁ κῆρυξ τε ἀπήγγειλεν οὐδὲν εἰρηνάιον 25
παρὰ τῶν Κορινθίων καὶ αἱ νῆσοι αὐτοῖς ἐπε-
πλήρωντο οὖσαι ὀγδοήκοντα (τεσσαράκοντα γὰρ
'Επίδαμνον ἐπολιόρκουν), ἀνταναγαγόμενοι καὶ

2. ἔαυτοὺς [CG]
17. ἐπεὶ CG (corr. G¹)

4. ἀπάγωσι CG
28. ἀνταναγαγόμενοι Classen: ἀντανα-
γόμενοι codd.

5. δὲ secl. Poppo

παραταξάμενοι ἐναυμάχησαν· καὶ ἐνίκησαν οἱ 5
 Κερκυραῖοι παρὰ πολὺ καὶ ναῦς
 πέντε καὶ δέκα διέφθειραν τῶν
 Κορινθίων. τῇ δὲ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ
 5 αὐτοῖς ξυρέβη καὶ τοὺς τὴν Ἐπίδαμνον πολιορ-
 κοῦντας παραστήσασθαι ὁμολογίᾳ ὥστε τοὺς
 μὲν ἐπήλυδας ἀποδόσθαι, Κορινθίους δὲ δῆ-
 σαντας ἔχειν ἔως ἂν ἄλλο τι δόξῃ. μετὰ δὲ 30
 τὴν ναυμαχίαν οἱ Κερκυραῖοι τροπαῖον στή-
 10 σαντες ἐπὶ τῇ Λευκίμη τῆς Κερκυραίας
 ἀκρωτηρίῳ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους οὓς ἔλαβον
 αἰχμαλώτους ἀπέκτειναν, Κορινθίους δὲ δῆ-
 σαντες εἶχον. ὕστερον δέ, ἐπειδὴ οἱ Κορίνθιοι 2
 καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἡστημένοι ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀνεχώ-
 15 ρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου, τῆς θαλάσσης ἀπάσης ἐκράτουν
 τῆς κατ' ἐκεῖνα τὰ χωρία οἱ Κερκυραῖοι, καὶ
 πλεύσαντες ἐς Λευκάδα τὴν Κορινθίων ἀποικίαν
 τῆς γῆς ἔτεμον καὶ Κυλλήνην τὸ Ἡλείων
 ἐπίνειον ἐνέπρησαν, ὅτι ναῦς καὶ χρήματα
 20 παρέσχον Κορινθίοις. τοῦ τε χρόνου τὸν 3
 πλεῖστον μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν ἐπεκράτουν τῆς
 θαλάσσης καὶ τοὺς τῶν Κορινθίων ξυμμάχους
 ἐπιπλέοντες ἐφθειρούν, μέχρι οὐ Κορίνθιοι
 περιιόντι τῷ θέρει πέμψαντες ναῦς καὶ
 25 στρατιάν, ἐπεὶ σφῶν οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐπόνουν,
 ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο ἐπὶ Ἀκτίῳ καὶ περὶ τὸ
 Χειμέριον τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος φυλακῆς ἔνεκα τῆς

2. post ναῦς add. τε CG 10. Λευκίμη CG (et sic semper) ||
 Κερκύρας ABEFM 20. τὸν τὸ BCM[G] 21. ἐπεκράτουν
 C: ἐκράτουν cett. [G] 23. ἐφθειραν C[G] 24. περ-
 ιόντι Reiske: περιόντι codd.

τε Λευκάδος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων ὅσαι
 4 σφίσι φίλιαι ἦσαν. ἀντεστρατοπεδεύοντο δὲ
 καὶ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι ἐπὶ τῇ Λευκίμμη ναυσί τε
 καὶ πεζῷ. ἐπέπλεον δὲ οὐδέτεροι ἄλληλοις,
 ἀλλὰ τὸ θέρος τοῦτο ἀντικαθεζόμενοι χειμῶνος 5
 ἥδη ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου ἑκάτεροι.

31 Τὸν δ' ἐνιαυτὸν πάντα τὸν μετὰ τὴν ναυ-

Fresh preparations of Corinth.
 Corecyra seeks alliance with Athens. Corinth sends to Athens to oppose the request.

μαχίαν καὶ τὸν ὕστερον οἱ Κορίνθιοι
 ὀργῇ φέροντες τὸν πρὸς Κερκυραίους
 πόλεμον ἐναυπηγοῦντο καὶ παρε- 10
 σκευάζοντο τὰ κράτιστα νεῶν στόλον,
 ἐκ τε αὐτῆς Πελοποννήσου ἀγείροντες

καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἐρέτας, μισθῷ πεί-
 2 θοντες. πυνθανόμενοι δὲ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι τὴν
 παρασκευὴν αὐτῶν ἐφοβοῦντο, καὶ (ἥσαν γὰρ 15
 οὐδενὸς Ἑλλήνων ἔνσπονδοι οὐδὲ ἐσεγράψαντο
 ἑαυτοὺς οὐτε ἐς τὰς Ἀθηναίων σπονδὰς οὐτε
 ἐς τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων) ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ἐλθοῦσιν
 ως τὸν Ἀθηναίους ξυμμάχους γενέσθαι καὶ
 ὠφελίαν τινὰ πειρᾶσθαι ἀπ' αὐτῶν εύρισκεσθαι. 20
 3 οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι πυθόμενοι ταῦτα ἥλθον καὶ
 αὐτοὶ ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας πρεσβευσόμενοι, δῆπος
 μὴ σφίσι πρὸς τῷ Κερκυραίων ναυτικῷ καὶ
 τὸ αὐτῶν προσγενόμενον ἐμπόδιον γένηται
 4 θέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἥ βούλονται. καταστάσης 25
 δὲ ἐκκλησίας ἐς ἀντιλογίαν ἥλθον, καὶ οἱ μὲν
 Κερκυραῖοι ἔλεξαν τοιάδε.

32 “Δίκαιον, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς μήτε εὐεργεσίας

3. τε ΑΒΕΦΜ supraser. G
 G : τὸ Ἀττικὸν cett. γρ. G

23. καὶ τὸ αὐτῶν c (in litura)

μεγάλης μήτε ξυμμαχίας προυφειλομένης ἥκοντας παρὰ τοὺς πέλας ἐπικουρίας, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς νῦν, δεησομένους ἀναδιάξαι πρῶτοι, μάλιστα μὲν ὡς καὶ ξύμφορα δέονται, εἰ δὲ μή, ὅτι γε οὐκ ἐπιζήμια, ἐπειτα δὲ ὡς καὶ τὴν χάριν βέβαιον ἔξουσιν. εἰ δὲ τούτων μηδὲν σαφὲς καταστήσουσι, μὴ ὄργιζεσθαι ἦν ἀτυχῶσιν. Κερκυραῖοι δὲ μετὰ 2

10 τῆς ξυμμαχίας τῆς αἰτήσεως καὶ ταῦτα πιστεύοντες ἔχυρὰ ὑμῖν παρέξεσθαι ἀπέστειλαν ἡμᾶς. τετύχηκε δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπιτήδευμα πρὸς 3 τε ὑμᾶς ἐς τὴν χρείαν ἡμῶν ἀλογον καὶ ἐς τὰ ἡμέτερα αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀξύμφορον.

15 ξύμμαχοί τε γὰρ οὐδενός πω ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ 4 χρόνῳ ἔκούσιοι γενόμενοι νῦν ἄλλων τοῦτο δεησόμενοι ἥκομεν, καὶ ἄμα ἐς τὸν παρόντα πόλεμον Κορινθίων ἐρῆμοι δι' αὐτὸ καθέσταμεν. καὶ περιέστηκεν ἡ δοκοῦσα ἡμῶν πρότερον

20 σωφροσύνη, τὸ μὴ ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ ξυμμαχίᾳ τῇ τοῦ πέλας γνώμῃ ξυγκινδυνεύειν, νῦν ἀβούλία καὶ ἀσθένεια φαινομένη. τὴν μὲν οὖν γενο- 5 μένην ναυμαχίαν αὐτοὶ κατὰ μόνας ἀπεωσάμεθα Κορινθίους. ἐπειδὴ δὲ μείζονι παρασκευῇ ἀπὸ

25 Πελοποννήσου καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ὥρμηνται καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀδύνατοι ὥρμεν ὅντες τῇ οἰκείᾳ μόνον δυνάμει περιγενέσθαι, καὶ ἄμα μέγας ὁ κίνδυνος εἰ ἐσόμεθα ὑπ' αὐτοῖς, ἀνάγκη καὶ ὑμῶν καὶ ἄλλου παντὸς ἐπικουρίας δεῖσθαι,

Speech of the
Corcyrean
envoy. 'Our
principle of
holding aloof
from alliances
has turned out a
mistake and has
caused our pre-
sent weakness.'

καὶ ξυγγνώμη εἰ μὴ μετὰ κακίας, δόξης δὲ μᾶλλον ἀμαρτίᾳ τῇ πρότερον ἀπραγμοσύνη ἐναντία τολμῶμεν.

33 “Γενήσεται δὲ ὑμῖν πειθομένοις καλὴ ἡ

‘Your compliance with our request will bring you advantages : (1) you will be helping the wronged : (2) you will win our gratitude : (3) you will have our fleet on your side.’

ξυντυχία κατὰ πολλὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας 5 χρείας, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ἀδικουμένοις καὶ οὐχ ἔτέρους βλάπτουσι τὴν ἐπικουρίαν ποιήσεσθε, ἔπειτα περὶ τῶν μεγίστων κινδυνεύοντας δεξάμενοι ὡς ἀν μάλιστα μετ’ αἰειμνήστου 10 μαρτυρίου τὴν χάριν καταθήσεσθε.

ναυτικόν τε κεκτήμεθα πλὴν τοῦ παρ’ ὑμῖν 2 πλεῖστον. καὶ σκέψασθε τίς εὐπραξία σπανιωτέρα ἡ τίς τοῖς πολεμίοις λυπηρότερα εἰ ἡν ὑμεῖς ἀν πρὸ πολλῶν χρημάτων καὶ χάριτος 15 ἐτιμήσασθε δύναμιν ὑμῖν προσγενέσθαι, αὕτη πάρεστιν αὐτεπάγγελτος ἄνευ κινδύνων καὶ δαπάνης διδοῦσα ἑαυτήν, καὶ προσέτι φέρουσα ἐσ μὲν τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀρετήν, οἷς δὲ ἐπαμυνεῖτε χάριν, ὑμῖν δ’ αὐτοῖς ἴσχύν. ἀ ἐν τῷ παντὶ 20 χρόνῳ ὀλίγοις δὴ ἄμα πάντα ξυνέβη, καὶ ὀλίγοις ξυμμαχίας δεόμενοι οἷς ἐπικαλοῦνται ἀσφάλειαν καὶ κόσμον οὐχ ἡσσον διδόντες ἡ 3 ληφόμενοι παραγίγνονται. τὸν δὲ πόλεμον, δι’ ὄνπερ χρήσιμοι ἀν εἰμεν, εἴ τις ὑμῶν μὴ 25 οἴεται ἔσεσθαι, γνώμης ἀμαρτάνει καὶ οὐκ αἰσθάνεται τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους φόβῳ τῷ

8. ἔπειτα—c. 37. 2 οὐδένα suppl. m fol. viii
θήσεσθε Krüger : καταθήσθε vel κατάθησθε codd.
ABEF

11. κατα-
24. διώπερ

ὑμετέρω τολεμησείοντας καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους
δυναμένους παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ύμιν ἔχθροὺς ὄντας
καὶ προκαταλαμβάνοντας ἡμᾶς νῦν ἐς τὴν
ὑμετέραν ἐπιχείρησιν, ἵνα μὴ τῷ κοινῷ ἔχθει
5 κατ' αὐτὸὺς μετ' ἀλλήλων στῶμεν μηδὲ δυοῖν
φθάσαι ἀμάρτωσιν, ἡ κακῶσαι ἡμᾶς ἡ σφᾶς
αὐτὸὺς βεβαιώσασθαι. ἡμέτερον δέ γ' αὐτὸν ἔργον 4
προτερῆσαι, τῶν μὲν διδόντων, ύμῶν δὲ δεξα-
μένων τὴν ξυμμαχίαν, καὶ προεπιβουλεύειν
10 αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον ἡ ἀντεπιβουλεύειν.

“[“]Ην δὲ λέγωσιν ώς οὐ δίκαιον τοὺς 34
σφετέρους ἀποίκους ὑμᾶς δέχεσθαι, ‘You will not be
μαθόντων ώς πᾶσα ἀποικία εὖ μὲν acting unjustly.
πάσχουσα τιμᾶ τὴν μητρόπολιν, ἀδικουμένη
15 δὲ ἀλλοτριοῦται· οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ δοῦλοι, ἀλλ’
ἐπὶ τῷ ὁμοῖοι τοῖς λειπομένοις εἶναι ἐκπέμ-
πονται. ώς δὲ ἡδίκουν σαφές ἐστιν· προκλη- 2
θέντες γὰρ περὶ Ἐπιδάμνου ἐς κρίσιν πολέμῳ
μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ ἵσῳ ἐβουλήθησαν τὰ ἐγκλήματα
20 μετελθεῖν. καὶ ὑμῖν ἐστω τι τεκμήριον ἢ πρὸς 3
ἡμᾶς τοὺς ξυγγενεῖς δρῶσιν, ὥστε ἀπάτη τε μὴ
παράγεσθαι ὑπ’ αὐτῶν δεομένοις τε ἐκ τοῦ
εὐθέος μὴ ὑπουργεῖν· ὁ γὰρ ἐλαχίστας τὰς
μεταμελείας ἐκ τοῦ χαρίζεσθαι τοῦς ἐναντίοις
25 λαμβάνων ἀσφαλέστατος ἀν διατελοίη. λύσετε 35
δὲ οὐδὲ τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων σπουδὰς δεχόμενοι
ἡμᾶς μηδετέρων ὄντας ξυμμάχους· ‘You will not be
εἴρηται γὰρ ἐν αὐταῖς, τῶν Ἐλληνίδων
πόλεων ἥτις μηδαμοῦ ξυμμαχεῖ,
2

2. $a \in \mathbb{F}[G]$

7. γ' om. ABEF

' You will not be breaking the thirty years' truce.'

έξειναι παρ' ὁποτέρους ἀν ἀρέσκηται ἐλθεῖν.
 3 καὶ δεινὸν εἰ τοῦτο μὲν ἀπό τε τῶν ἐνσπόνδων
 ἔσται πληροῦν τὰς ναῦς καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐκ
 τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἀπὸ τῶν
 ὑμετέρων ὑπηκόων, ἡμᾶς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς προκει- 5
 μένης τε ξυμμαχίας εἰρξουσι καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς
 ἄλλοθέν ποθεν ὡφελίας, εἴτα ἐν ἀδικήματι
 4 θήσονται πεισθέντων ὑμῶν ἀ δεόμεθα. πολὺ¹⁰
 δὲ ἐν πλέονι αἰτίᾳ ἡμεῖς μὴ πείσαντες ὑμᾶς
 ἔξομεν. ἡμᾶς μὲν γὰρ κινδυνεύοντας καὶ οὐκ
 ἔχθροὺς ὄντας ἀπώστεσθε, τῶνδε δὲ οὐχ ὅπως
 κωλυταὶ ἔχθρῶν ὄντων καὶ ἐπιόντων γενήσεσθε,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀρχῆς δύναμιν
 προσλαβεῖν περιόψεσθε. ἢ οὐ δίκαιον, ἀλλ'
 ἡ κάκείνων κωλύειν τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ὑμετέρας 15
 μισθοφόρους ἡ καὶ ἡμῖν πέμπειν καθ' ὅτι ἀν
 πεισθῆτε ὡφελίαν, μάλιστα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ προ-
 5 φανοῦς δεξαμένους βοηθεῖν. πολλὰ δέ, ὡσπερ

Recapitulation ἐν ἀρχῇ ὑπείπομεν, τὰ ξυμφέροντα
 of the advantages. ἀποδείκνυμεν, καὶ μέγιστον ὅτι οἵ 20
 τε αὐτοὶ πολέμιοι ἡμῖν ἥσαν, ὅπερ σαφεστάτη
 πίστις, καὶ οὔτοι οὐκ ἀσθενεῖς, ἀλλ' ἰκανοὶ
 τοὺς μεταστάντας βλάψαι· καὶ ναυτικῆς καὶ
 οὐκ ἡπειρώτιδος τῆς ξυμμαχίας διδομένης οὐχ
 ὁμοία ἡ ἀλλοτρίωσις, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μέν, εἰ 25
 δύνασθε, μηδένα ἄλλον ἐᾶν κεκτῆσθαι ναῦς, εἰ
 δὲ μή, ὅστις ἔχυρώτατος, τοῦτον φίλον ἔχειν.

7. εἴτα] εἴ τε Krüger
 . . μισθοφόρος G

9. δὲ] δὴ Krüger
 21. ἥσαν secl. Herwerden

15. τὰς
 25. post

μὲν add. δεῖ Sitzler

“Καὶ ὅτῳ τάδε ξυμφέροντα μὲν δοκεῖ 36

λέγεσθαι, φοβεῖται δὲ μὴ δι' αὐτὰ
πειθόμενος τὰς σπουδὰς λύση, γνώτω
τὸ μὲν δεδιὸς αὐτοῦ ἰσχὺν ἔχον τοὺς

'There is no
need for anxiety.
Corcyra will be
a valuable
friend.'

5 ἐναντίους μᾶλλον φοβῆσον, τὸ δὲ θαρσοῦν μὴ
δεξαμένου ἀσθενὲς ὃν πρὸς ἰσχύοντας τοὺς
ἐχθροὺς ἀδεέστερον ἐσόμενον, καὶ ἅμα οὐ περὶ
τῆς Κερκύρας νῦν τὸ πλέον ἦ καὶ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν
βουλευόμενος, καὶ οὐ τὰ κράτιστα αὐταῖς
10 προνοῶν, ὅταν ἐσ τὸν μέλλοντα καὶ ὅσον οὐ
παρόντα πόλεμον τὸ αὐτίκα περισκοπῶν
ἐνδοιάζῃ χωρίον προσλαβεῖν ὃ μετὰ μεγίστων
καιρῶν οἰκειοῦται τε καὶ πολεμοῦται. τῆς τε 2
γὰρ Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας καλῶς παράπλου
15 κεῖται, ὥστε μήτε ἐκεῖθεν ναυτικὸν ἔᾶσαι
Πελοποννησίοις ἐπελθεῖν τό τε ἐνθέιδε πρὸς
τὰκεὶ παραπέμψαι, καὶ ἐσ τάλλα ξυμφορώτατον
ἐστιν. Βραχυτάτῳ δ' ἀν κεφαλαιώ, τοῖς τε 3
ξύμπασι καὶ καθ' ἔκαστον, τῷδ' ἀν μὴ προέσθαι
20 ἡμᾶς μάθοιτε· τρία μὲν ὅντα λόγου ἄξια τοῖς
"Ἐλλησι ναυτικά, τὸ παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον
καὶ τὸ Κορινθίων· τούτων δὲ εἰ περιόψεσθε
τὰ δύο ἐσ ταύτον ἐλθεῖν καὶ Κορίνθιοι ἡμᾶς
προκαταλήψουνται, Κερκυραίοις τε καὶ Πελο-
25 πονησίοις ἅμα ναυμαχήσετε, δεξάμενοι δὲ
ἡμᾶς ἔξετε πρὸς αὐτοὺς πλείστι ναυσὶ ταῖς
ἡμετέραις ἀγωνίζεσθαι." τοιαῦτα μὲν οἱ Κερκυ- 4
ραῖοι εἶπον· οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι μετ' αὐτοὺς τοιάδε.

16. ἐνθένδε] ἐντεῦθεν CG

22. τὸ] τῶν ABEF

23. τὸ

αὐτὸ CG

27. ὑμετέραις CG (corr. G¹)

37 “Αναγκαῖον Κερκυραίων τῶνδε οὐ μόνον

Reply of the
Corinthian
envoy.

περὶ τοῦ δέξασθαι σφᾶς τὸν λόγον ποιησαμένων, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς τε ἀδικοῦμεν καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ εἰκότως πολεμοῦνται, μνησθέντας πρῶτον καὶ ἡμᾶς περὶ ἀμφοτέρων 5 οὗτω καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἄλλον λόγον ἴέναι, ἵνα τὴν ἀφ' ἡμῶν τε ἀξίωσιν ἀσφαλέστερον προειδῆτε καὶ τὴν τῶνδε χρείαν μὴ ἀλογίστως ἀπώσησθε.

2 “Φασὶ δὲ ξυμμαχίαν διὰ τὸ σῶφρον οὐδενός

‘Corecyra has
held aloof from
alliances that
she may not
have witnesses
of her misdeeds.’

πω δέξασθαι· τὸ δ' ἐπὶ κακουργίᾳ 10 καὶ οὐκ ἀρετῇ ἐπετήδευσαν, ξύμμαχόν τε οὐδένα βουλόμενοι πρὸς τὰδικήματα οὐδὲ μάρτυρα ἔχειν

3 οὗτε παρακαλοῦντες αἰσχύνεσθαι. καὶ ἡ πόλις αὐτῶν ἀμα αὐτάρκη θέσιν κειμένη 15 παρέχει αὐτοὺς δικαστὰς ὡν βλάπτουσί τινα μᾶλλον ἡ κατὰ ξυνθήκας γίγνεσθαι, διὰ τὸ ἥκιστα ἐπὶ τοὺς πέλας ἐκπλέοντας μάλιστα τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνάγκη καταίροντας δέχεσθαι.

4 καὶ τοῦτο τὸ εὐπρεπὲς ἄσπονδον οὐχ ἵνα μὴ 20 ξυναδικῶσιν ἑτέροις προβέβληνται, ἀλλ' ὅπως κατὰ μόνας ἀδικῶσι καὶ ὅπως ἐν φῷ μὲν ἀν κρατῶσι βιάζωνται, οὐ δ' ἀν λάθωσι πλέον ἔχωσιν, ἦν δέ πού τι προσλάβωσιν ἀναισχυν- 5 τῶσιν· καίτοι εἰ ἡσαν ἄνδρες, ὡσπερ φασίν, 25 ἀγαθοί, ὅσῳ ἀληπτότεροι ἡσαν τοῖς πέλας, τόσῳ δὲ φανερωτέραν ἐξῆν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀρετὴν

9. δὲ] δὴ Krüger

20. κάν τούτῳ ABEFM[G] 21. ξυνα-
δικήσωσιν ABEFM

23. κρατηθῶσι C[G] || βιάζονται BEFM[G]

24. ἔχουσιν BEFM || προλάβωσιν C || ἀναισχυντοῦσι(ν) BCEFM

27. τόσῳ δὲ Hertlein: τοσῷδε codd.

διδοῦσι καὶ δεχομένοις τὰ δίκαια δεικνύναι. ἀλλ' οὔτε πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους οὔτε 38
 ἐς ἡμᾶς τοιοίδε εἰσίν, ἀποικοὶ δ' ὅντες ἀφεστάσι τε διὰ παντὸς καὶ νῦν
 πολεμοῦσι, λέγοντες ώς οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ κακῷ
 πάσχειν ἐκπεμφθεῖεν. ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ 2
 φαμεν ἐπὶ τῷ ὑπὸ τούτων ὑβρίζεσθαι, κατοικί-
 σαι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ ἡγεμόνες τε εἶναι καὶ τὰ
 εἰκότα θαυμάζεσθαι. αἱ γοῦν ἄλλαι ἀποικίαι 3
 τιμῶσιν ἡμᾶς, καὶ μάλιστα ὑπὸ ἀποίκων
 στεργόμεθα· καὶ δῆλον ὅτι, εἰ τοῖς πλέοσιν 4
 ἀρέσκοντές ἐσμεν, τοῦσδε ἀν μόνοις οὐκ ὀρθῶς
 ἀπαρέσκοιμεν, οὐδὲ ἐπιστρατεύομεν ἐκπρεπῶς
 μὴ καὶ διαφερόντως τι ἀδικούμενοι. καλὸν δ' 5
 15 ἦν, εἰ καὶ ἡμαρτάνομεν, τοῦσδε μὲν εἰξαι τῇ
 ἡμετέρᾳ ὄργῃ, ἡμῖν δὲ αἰσχρὸν βιάσασθαι τὴν
 τούτων μετριότητα· ὕβρει δὲ καὶ ἔξουσίᾳ
 πλούτου πολλὰ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἄλλα τε ἡμαρτήκασι
 καὶ Ἐπίδαμνον ἡμετέραν οὖσαν κακουμένην
 20 μὲν οὐ προσεποιοῦντο, ἐλθόντων δὲ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ¹³
 τιμωρίᾳ ἐλόντες βίᾳ ἔχουσιν.

“Καὶ φασὶ δὴ δίκη πρότερον ἐθελῆσαι 39
 κρίνεσθαι, ἦν γε οὐ τὸν προύχοντα
 καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦ προκαλού-
 25 μενον λέγειν τι δοκεῖν δεῖ, ἀλλὰ
 τὸν ἐς ἵσον τά τε ἔργα ὁμοίως καὶ
 τοὺς λόγους πρὶν διαγωνίζεσθαι καθιστάντα.
 οὗτοι δὲ οὐ πρὶν πολιορκεῖν τὸ χωρίον, ἀλλ' 2

*'She claims
that she de-
manded arbitra-
tion: the
demand was
not sincerely
made.'*

13. ἐπιστρατεύομεν, ut videtur, legit Schol., bellum intulimus
 Valla

ἐπειδὴ ἡγήσαντο ἡμᾶς οὐ περιόψεσθαι, τότε καὶ τὸ εὐπρεπὲς τῆς δίκης παρέσχοντο. καὶ δεῦρο ἥκουσιν οὐ τάκει μόνον αὐτοὶ ἀμαρτόντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμᾶς νῦν ἀξιοῦντες οὐ ξυμμαχεῖν, ἀλλὰ ξυναδικεῖν καὶ διαφόρους 5 3 ὅντας ἡμῖν δέχεσθαι σφᾶς· οὓς χρῆν, ὅτε ἀσφαλέστατοι ἦσαν, τότε προσιέναι, καὶ μὴ ἐν φῷ ἡμεῖς μὲν ἡδικήμεθα, οὕτοι δὲ κινδυνεύουσι, μηδὲ ἐν φῷ ὑμεῖς τῆς τε δυνάμεως αὐτῶν τότε οὐ μεταλαβόντες τῆς ὡφελίας νῦν μετα- 10 δώσετε καὶ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἀπογενόμενοι τῆς ἀφ' ἡμῶν αἰτίας τὸ ἵσον ἔξετε, πάλαι δὲ κοινώσαντας τὴν δύναμιν κοινὰ καὶ τὰ ἀποβαίνοντα ἔχειν.

40 “Ως μὲν οὖν αὐτοὶ τε μετα προσηκοντων 15
 ‘You will act unjustly if you consent.’ έγκλημάτων ἐρχόμεθα καὶ οἶδε
 βίαιοι καὶ πλεονέκται εἰσὶ δεδήλω-
 ται· ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἀν δικαίως αὐτοὺς δέχοισθε
 2 μαθεῖν χρή. εἰ γὰρ εἴρηται ἐν ταῖς σπουδαῖς
 ἔξειναι παρ’ ὄποτέρους τις βούλεται τῶν 20
 ἀγράφων πόλεων ἐλθεῖν, οὐ τοῖς ἐπὶ βλάβῃ
 ἐτέρων ιοῦσιν ἡ ξυνθήκη ἐστίν, ἀλλ’ ὅστις μὴ
 ἄλλου ἑαυτὸν ἀποστερῶν, ἀσφαλεῖας δεῖται καὶ
 ὅστις μὴ τοῖς δεξαμένοις, εἰ σωφρονοῦσι,
 πόλεμον ἀντ’ εἰρήνης ποιήσει· δὲ νῦν ὑμεῖς μὴ 25

11. ἀπο (ο εχ ω c) γενόμενοι CE[G] 13. κοινωνήσαντας
 ABEF (corr. F¹) [G] 14. ποστ ἔχειν add. ἔγκλημάτων C,
 ἔγκλημάτων δὲ μόνον ἀμετόχους οὕτως τῶν μετὰ τὰς πράξεις τούτων
 μὴ κοινωνεῖν cG 16. ἔγκλημάτων om. C: τοῦ δικαίου κεφα-
 λαίων πρὸς ὑμᾶς vel similia cGm 20. τῶν ἀγράφων πόλεων
 βούλεται ABEFM 23. ἄλλων cG || αὐτὸν B: αὐτὸν ΔΕΜ

πειθόμενοι ἡμῖν πάθοιτε ἄν. οὐ γὰρ τοῖσδε 3
μόνον ἐπίκουροι ἀν γένοισθε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμῖν
ἀντὶ ἐνσπόνδων πολέμιοι ἀνάγκη γάρ, εἰ ἵτε
μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ ἀμύνεσθαι μὴ ἄνευ ὑμῶν
5 τούτους. καίτοι δίκαιοι γ' ἐστὲ μάλιστα μὲν 4
ἐκποδὼν στῆναι ἀμφοτέροις, εἰ δὲ μή, τούναν-
τίον ἐπὶ τούτους μεθ' ἡμῶν ἵέναι (Κορινθίοις
μέν γε ἐνσπονδοί ἐστε, Κερκυραίοις δὲ οὐδὲ
δι' ἀνοκωχῆς πώποτ' ἐγένεσθε), καὶ τὸν νόμον
10 μὴ καθιστάναι ὥστε τοὺς ἑτέρων ἀφισταμένους
δέχεσθαι. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡμεῖς Σαμίων ἀποστάντων 5
ψῆφον προσεθέμεθα ἐναντίαν ὑμῖν, τῶν ἄλλων
Πελοποννησίων δίχα ἐψηφισμένων εἰ χρὴ
αὐτοῖς ἀμύνειν, φανερῶς δὲ ἀντείπομεν τοὺς
15 προσήκοντας ξυμμάχους αὐτὸν τινα κολάζειν.
εἰ γὰρ τοὺς κακόν τι δρῶντας δεχόμενοι 6
τιμωρήσετε, φανεῖται καὶ ἡ τῶν ὑμετέρων οὐκ
ἔλασσω ἡμῖν πρόσεισι, καὶ τὸν νόμον ἐφ' ὑμῖν
αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον ἡ ἐφ' ἡμῖν θήσετε.

20 “Δικαιώματα μὲν οὖν τάδε πρὸς ὑμᾶς 41
ἔχομεν ίκανὰ κατὰ τοὺς Ἐλλήνων
νόμους, παραίνεσιν δὲ καὶ ἀξίωσιν
χάριτος τοιάνδε, ἦν οὐκ ἐχθροὶ
ὄντες ὥστε βλάπτειν οὐδ' αὖ φίλοι ὥστ' ἐπι-
25 χρῆσθαι, ἀντιδοθῆναι ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι
φαμὲν χρῆναι. νεῶν γὰρ μακρῶν σπανίσαντές 2
ποτε πρὸς τὸν Αἰγαίηντὸν ὑπὲρ τὰ Μηδικὰ
πόλεμον παρὰ Κορινθίων εἴκοσι ναῦς ἐλάβετε·
καὶ ἡ εὐεργεσία αὕτη τε καὶ ἡ ἐς Σαμίους, τὸ

1. πάθοιτε cF¹g: πάθητε cett.

5. γ' om. CG

‘You are morally
bound to us: we
have claims on
you.’

δι' ἡμᾶς Πελοποννησίους αὐτοῖς μὴ βοηθῆσαι, παρέσχεν ὑμῖν Αἰγαίνητῶν μὲν ἐπικράτησιν, Σαμίων δὲ κόλασιν, καὶ ἐν καιροῖς τοιούτοις ἐγένετο οἷς μάλιστα ἄνθρωποι ἐπ' ἔχθροὺς τοὺς σφετέρους ἴόντες τῶν ἀπάντων ἀπερίοπτοι⁵ 3 εἰσι παρὰ τὸ νικᾶν· φίλον τε γὰρ ἡγοῦνται τὸν ὑπουργοῦντα, ἦν καὶ πρότερον ἔχθρὸς ἦ, πολέμιόν τε τὸν ἀντιστάντα, ἦν καὶ τύχη φίλος ὡν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα χεῖρον τίθενται φιλονικίας ἔνεκα τῆς αὐτίκα.

10

42 “[“]Ων ἐνθυμηθέντες καὶ νεώτερός τις παρὰ πρεσβυτέρου αὐτὰ μαθὼν ἀξιούτω τοῖς ὁμοίοις ἡμᾶς ἀμύνεσθαι, καὶ μὴ νομίσῃ δίκαια μὲν τάδε λέγεσθαι, ξύμφορα δέ, εἰ πολεμήσει,¹⁵

2 ἄλλα εἶναι. τό τε γὰρ ξυμφέρον ἐν ὧ ἀν τις ἐλάχιστα ἀμαρτάνῃ μάλιστα ἔπεται, καὶ τὸ μέλλον τοῦ πολέμου ὡ φοβοῦντες ὑμᾶς Κερκυραῖοι κελεύουσιν ἀδικεῖν ἐν ἀφανεῖ ἔτι κεῖται, καὶ οὐκ ἄξιον ἐπαρθέντας αὐτῷ φανερὰν²⁰ ἔχθραν ἥδη καὶ οὐ μέλλουσαν πρὸς Κορινθίους κτήσασθαι, τῆς δὲ ὑπαρχούσης πρότερον διὰ Μεγαρέας ὑποψίας σῶφρον ὑφελεῖν μᾶλλον (ἢ 3 γὰρ τελευταία χάρις καιρὸν ἔχοῦσα, καν 4 ἐλάσσων ἦ, δύναται μεῖζον ἔγκλημα λῦσαι),²⁵ μηδ' ὅτι ναυτικοῦ ξυμμαχίαν μεγάλην διδόασι, τούτῳ ἐφέλκεσθαι· τὸ γὰρ μὴ ἀδικεῖν τοὺς ὁμοίους ἔχυρωτέρα δύναμις ἦ τῷ αὐτίκα

5. ἀπάντων C Schol.: πάντων cett. [G]
ἀμειβεσθαι γρ. Schol. 27. ἐφέλκεσθε ΑFM

13. ἀμύνεσθαι]

φανερῷ ἐπαρθέντας διὰ κινδύνων τὸ πλέον
ἔχειν. ἡμεῖς δὲ περιπεπτωκότες οἷς ἐν τῇ 43
Λακεδαιμονι αὐτοὶ προείπομεν, τοὺς σφετέρους
ξυμμάχους αὐτὸν τινα κολάζειν, νῦν παρ' ὑμῶν
5 τὸ αὐτὸν ἀξιοῦμεν κομίζεσθαι, καὶ μὴ τῇ
ἡμετέρᾳ ψήφῳ ὀφεληθέντας τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ἡμᾶς
βλάψαι. τὸ δὲ ἵσον ἀνταπόδοτε, γνόντες 2
τοῦτον ἐκεῖνον εἶναι τὸν καιρὸν ἐν ὧ ὁ τε
ὑπουργῶν φίλος μάλιστα καὶ ὁ ἀντιστάς
10 ἔχθρος. καὶ Κερκυραίους τούσδε μήτε ξυμμά- 3
χους δέχεσθε βίᾳ ἡμῶν μήτε ἀμύνετε αὐτοῖς
ἀδικοῦσιν. καὶ τάδε ποιοῦντες τὰ προσήκοντά 4
τε δράσετε καὶ τὰ ἄριστα βουλεύσεσθε ὑμῖν
αὐτοῖς.”

15 Τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι εἶπον. 44

’Αθηναῖοι δὲ ἀκούσαντες ἀμφο-
τέρων, γενομένης καὶ δὶς ἐκκλησίας,
τῇ μὲν προτέρᾳ οὐχ ἡσσον τῶν
Κορινθίων ἀπεδέξαντο τοὺς λόγους,
20 ἐν δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ μετέγνωσαν Κερκυραίους
ξυμμαχίαν μὲν μὴ ποιήσασθαι ὥστε τοὺς
αὐτοὺς ἔχθροὺς καὶ φίλους νομίζειν (εἰ γὰρ
ἐπὶ Κόρινθον ἐκέλευνον σφίσιν οἱ Κερκυραῖοι
ξυμπλεῦν, ἐλύοντ’ ἀν αὐτοῖς αἱ πρὸς Πελο-
25 ποννησίους σπονδαί), ἐπιμαχίαν δ’ ἐποιήσαντο
τῇ ἀλλήλων βοηθεῖν, ἐάν τις ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν
ἴη ἡ ’Αθήνας ἡ τοὺς τούτων ξυμμάχους.
ἔδόκει γὰρ ὁ πρὸς Πελοποννησίους πόλεμος 2

After an
adjournment of
debate, a de-
fensive alliance
is made with
Corcyra.

10. post Κερκυραίους add. τε CG : δὲ F : γε Hude
δέχησθε cG || ἀμύνητε cG

καὶ ὡς ἔσεσθαι αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὴν Κέρκυραν ἐβούλοντο μὴ προέσθαι τοῖς Κορινθίοις ναυτικὸν ἔχουσαν τοσοῦτον, ξυγκρούειν δὲ ὅτι μάλιστα αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλοις, ἵνα ἀσθενεστέροις οὖσιν, ἦν τι δέη, Κορινθίοις τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις 5 ναυτικὸν ἔχουσιν ἐς πόλεμον καθιστῶνται.

3 ἅμα δὲ τῆς τε Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας καλῶς ἐφαίνετο αὐτοῖς ἡ νῆσος ἐν παράπλῳ κεῖσθαι.

45 Τοιαύτη μὲν γνώμῃ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς

Athens sends ten ships to Corcyra. Κέρκυραίους προσεδέξαντο, καὶ τῶν 10 Κορινθίων ἀπελθόντων οὐ πολὺ

ὑστερον δέκα ναῦς αὐτοῖς ἀπέστειλαν βοηθούς.

2 ἐστρατήγει δὲ αὐτῶν Λακεδαιμόνιός τε ὁ Κίμωνος καὶ Διότιμος ὁ Στρομβίχου καὶ

3 Πρωτέας ὁ Ἐπικλέοντος. προεῖπον δὲ αὐτοῖς 15 μὴ ναυμαχεῖν Κορινθίοις, ἦν μὴ ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν πλέωσι καὶ μέλλωσιν ἀποβαίνειν ἡ ἐς τῶν ἐκείνων τι χωρίων οὖτω δὲ κωλύειν κατὰ δύναμιν. προεῖπον δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ μὴ λύειν

46 ἔνεκα τὰς σπονδάς. αἱ ἐν δὴ νῆσος ἀφικνοῦν- 20

Corinth sends 150 ships against Corcyra. ται ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν, οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι, ἐπειδὴ αὐτοῖς παρεσκεύαστο,

ἐπλεον ἐπὶ τὴν Κέρκυραν ναυσὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν. ἥσαν δὲ Ἡλείων μὲν δέκα,

Μεγαρέων δὲ δώδεκα καὶ Λευκαδίων δέκα, 25

2 Ἀμπρακιωτῶν δὲ ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ Ἀνακ-

τορίων μία, αὐτῶν δὲ Κορινθίων ἐνενήκοντα· στρατηγοὶ δὲ τούτων ἥσαν μὲν καὶ κατὰ πόλεις ἑκάστων, Κορινθίων δὲ Ξενοκλείδης ὁ

Εὐθυκλέους πέμπτος αὐτός. ἐπειδὴ δὲ προσέ- 3
 μειξαν τῇ κατὰ Κέρκυραν ἡπείρῳ ἀπὸ Λευκάδος
 πλέοντες, ὄρμίζονται ἐς Χειμέριον τῆς Θεσπρω-
 τίδος γῆς. ἔστι δὲ λιμήν, καὶ πόλις ὑπὲρ 4
 5 αὐτοῦ κεῖται ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐν τῇ Ἐλαιάτιδι
 τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος Ἐφύρη. ἐξίησι δὲ παρ'
 αὐτὴν Ἀχερουσία λίμνη ἐς θάλασσαν· διὰ δὲ
 τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος Ἀχέρων ποταμὸς ῥέων ἐσ-
 βάλλει ἐς αὐτὴν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν
 10 ἔχει. ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ Θύαμις ποταμός, ὥριζων τὴν
 Θεσπρωτίδα καὶ Κεστρίνην, ὡν ἐντὸς ἡ ἄκρα
 ἀνέχει τὸ Χειμέριον. οἱ μὲν οὖν Κορίνθιοι 5
 τῆς ἡπείρου ἐνταῦθα ὄρμίζονται τε καὶ στρατό-
 πεδον ἐποιήσαντο. οἱ δὲ Κερκυραῖοι ὡς 47
 15 ἥσθοντο αὐτοὺς προσπλέοντας, πλη-
 ρώσαντες δέκα καὶ ἑκατὸν ναῦς, ὡν
 ἥρχε Coreya mans
 Μικιάδης καὶ Αἰσιμίδης καὶ Εὐρύβατος,
 110 ships.
 ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐν μιᾷ τῶν νήσων αἱ
 καλοῦνται Σύβοτα· καὶ αἱ Ἀττικαὶ δέκα
 20 παρῆσαν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ Λευκίμμῃ αὐτοῖς τῷ 2
 ἀκρωτηρίῳ ὁ πεζὸς ἦν καὶ Ζακυνθίων χίλιοι
 ὅπλῖται βεβοηθηκότες. ἥσαν δὲ καὶ τοῖς Κοριν- 3
 θίοις ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων
 παραβεβοηθηκότες· οἱ γὰρ ταύτη ἡπειρῶται
 25 αἰεί ποτε αὐτοῖς φίλοι εἰσίν.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρεσκεύαστο τοῖς Κορινθίοις, 48
 λαβόντες τριῶν ἡμερῶν σιτία ἀνή-
 γοντο ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ
 Arrangement of
 the squadrons.

2 Χειμερίου νυκτός, καὶ ἄμα ἐφ πλέοντες
 καθορῶσι τὰς τῶν Κερκυραίων ναῦς μετεώρους
 3 τε καὶ ἐπὶ σφᾶς πλεούσας. ὡς δὲ κατεῖδον
 ἀλλήλους, ἀντιπαρετάσσοντο, ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν
 κέρας Κερκυραίων αἱ Ἀττικαὶ νῆες, τὸ δὲ 5
 ἄλλο αὐτοὶ ἐπεῖχον τρία τέλη ποιήσαντες
 τῶν νεῶν, ὡν ἥρχε <τῶν> τριῶν στρατηγῶν
 4 ἐκάστου εἰς. οὕτω μὲν Κερκυραῖοι ἐτάξαντο,
 Κορινθίοις δὲ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρας αἱ Μεγα-
 ρίδες νῆες εἶχον καὶ αἱ Ἀμπρακιώτιδες, κατὰ 10
 δὲ τὸ μέσον οἱ ἄλλοι ξύμμαχοι ὡς ἔκαστοι·
 εὐώνυμον δὲ κέρας αὐτοὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι ταῖς
 ἄριστα τῶν νεῶν πλεούσαις κατὰ τοὺς Ἀθη-
 ναίους καὶ τὸ δεξιὸν τῶν Κερκυραίων εἶχον.

49 ξυμμείξαντες δέ, ἐπειδὴ τὰ σημεῖα ἐκατέροις 15

The battle of
 Sybota. The
 tactics were old-
 fashioned

ἡρθη, ἐναυμάχουν, πολλοὺς μὲν
 ὄπλίτας ἔχοντες ἀμφότεροι ἐπὶ τῶν
 καταστρωμάτων, πολλοὺς δὲ τοξότας
 τε καὶ ἀκοντιστάς, τῷ παλαιῷ τρόπῳ ἀπειρό-
 2 τερον ἔτι παρεσκευασμένοι. ἦν τε ἡ ναυμαχία 20
 καρτερά, τῇ μὲν τέχνῃ οὐχ ὁμοίως, πεζομαχίᾳ
 3 δὲ τὸ πλέον προσφερῆς οὐσα. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ
 προσβάλλοιεν ἀλλήλοις, οὐ ἥρδιως ἀπελύοντο
 ὑπό τε τοῦ πλήθους καὶ ὅχλου τῶν νεῶν, καὶ
 μᾶλλον τι πιστεύοντες τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώ-
 25 ματος ὄπλίταις ἐς τὴν νίκην, οὐκέτι καταστάντες
 ἐμάχοντο ἡσυχαζουσῶν τῶν νεῶν. διέκπλοι δ'
 οὐκ ἦσαν, ἀλλὰ θυμῷ καὶ ῥώμῃ τὸ πλέον

7. τῶν add. Poppo 23. προσβάλλοιεν rec. : προσβάλλοιεν
 codd. 24. τοῦ om. ABEFM

έναυμάχουν ἡ ἐπιστήμη. πανταχῆ μὲν οὖν⁴ πολὺς θόρυβος καὶ ταραχώδης ἦν ἡ ναυμαχία, ἐν ἡ αἱ Ἀττικαὶ νῆες παραγιγνόμεναι τοῖς Κερκυραίοις, εἴ πη πιέζοιντο, φόβον μὲν παρεῖχον τοῖς ἐναντίοις, μάχης δὲ οὐκ ἥρχον δεδιότες οἱ στρατηγοὶ τὴν πρόρρησιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων. μάλιστα δὲ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας τῶν⁵ Κορινθίων ἐπόνει· οἱ γὰρ Κερκυραῖοι εἴκοσι ναυσὶν αὐτοὺς τρεψάμενοι καὶ καταδιώξαντες σποράδας

The right wing
of the Corinthian
fleet broken and
pursued.

ἐς τὴν ἥπειρον καὶ μέχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου πλεύσαντες αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπεκβάντες ἐνέπρησάν τε τὰς σκηνὰς ἐρήμους καὶ τὰ χρήματα διήρπασαν. ταύτη μὲν οὖν οἱ Κορινθίοι⁶ καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἡσσῶντό [τε] καὶ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι ἐπεκράτουν· ἡ δὲ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν οἱ Κορινθίοι, ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ, πολὺ ἐνίκων, τοῖς Κερκυραίοις τῶν εἴκοσι νεῶν ἀπὸ ἐλάσσονος πλιθούς ἐκ τῆς διώξεως οὐ παρουσῶν. οἱ δὲ⁷ Ἀθηναῖοι ὄρωντες τοὺς Κερκυραίους πιεζομένους μᾶλλον ἥδη ἀπροφασίστως ἐπεκούρουν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπεχόμενοι ὥστε μὴ ἐμβάλλειν τινί· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ τροπὴ ἐγίγνετο λαμπρῶς καὶ ἐνέκειντο οἱ Κορινθίοι,⁸ τότε δὴ ἔργου πᾶς εἴχετο ἥδη καὶ διεκέριτο οὐδὲν ἔτι, ἀλλὰ ξυνέπεσεν ἐς τοῦτο ἀνάγκης ὥστε ἐπιχειρῆσαι ἀλλήλοις τοὺς Κορινθίους καὶ Ἀθηναίους.

Their left wing
is successful.
Intervention of
the Athenian
fleet.

1. οὖν om. CEG
CG (a. id. G¹)
cett. [G]

10. καὶ om. ABEFM

15. τε secl. Kruger
cett. [G]

14. οὖν om.

23. ἐπειδὴ C: ἐπει
24. ἐγίγνετο C: ἐγένετο cett. [G] | ἐπέκειτο M

50 Τῆς δὲ τροπῆς γενομένης οἱ Κορίνθιοι τὰ
 The Corinthians
 slaughter the
 crews. σκάφη μὲν οὐχ εἰλκον ἀναδούμενοι
 τῶν νεῶν ἀς καταδύσειαν, πρὸς δὲ
 τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐτράποντο φονεύειν διεκπλέοντες
 μᾶλλον ἡ ζωγρεῖν, τούς τε αὐτῶν φίλους, οὐκ 5
 ἥσθημένοι ὅτι ἥσσηντο οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ κέρᾳ,
 2 ἀγνοοῦντες ἔκτεινον. πολλῶν γὰρ νεῶν οὐσῶν
 ἀμφοτέρων καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς θαλάσσης
 ἐπεχουσῶν, ἐπειδὴ ξυνέμειξαν ἀλλήλοις, οὐ
 ῥᾳδίως τὴν διάγνωσιν ἐποιοῦντο ὅποιοι ἐκράτουν 10
 ἡ ἐκρατοῦντο· ναυμαχία γὰρ αὕτη "Ελλησι
 πρὸς "Ελληνας νεῶν πλήθει μεγίστη δὴ τῶν
 3 πρὸ αὐτῆς γεγένηται. ἐπειδὴ δὲ κατεδίωξαν
 τοὺς Κερκυραίους οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἐς τὴν γῆν,
 πρὸς τὰ ναυάγια καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς 15
 σφετέρους ἐτράποντο, καὶ τῶν πλείστων ἐκρά-
 τησαν ὥστε προσκομίσαι πρὸς τὰ Σύβοτα, οἱ
 αὐτοῖς ὁ κατὰ γῆν στρατὸς τῶν βαρβάρων
 προσεβεβοηθήκει· ἔστι δὲ τὰ Σύβοτα τῆς
 Θεσπρωτίδος λιμὴν ἐρῆμος. τοῦτο δὲ ποιή- 20
 σαντες αὐθις ἀθροισθέντες ἐπέπλεον τοῖς Κερκυ-

4 They are about
 to renew the
 attack when
 they sight
 another Athen-
 ian fleet
 approaching. ραίοις. οἱ δὲ ταῖς πλωίμοις καὶ
 ὅσαι ἥσαν λοιπαὶ μετὰ τῶν Ἀττικῶν
 νεῶν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀντεπέπλεον, δεί-
 σαντες μὴ ἐς τὴν γῆν σφῶν 25

5 πειρῶσιν ἀποβαίνειν. ἥδη δὲ ἦν ὁψὲ καὶ
 ἐπεπαιάνιστο αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐς ἐπίπλουν, καὶ οἱ

6. αἰσθόμενοι ABEFM

17. οὐ CG

13. αὐτῆς G: ἐαυτῆς cett.

24. ἀντεπέπλεον C: ἀντέπλεον cett.

27. ἐπε-
 παιάνιστο cf: ἐπεπαιάνιστο codd.

Κορίνθιοι ἔξαπίνης πρύμναν ἐκρούοντο κατιδόντες εἴκοσι ναῦς Ἀθηναίων προσπλεούσας, ἃς ὑστερον τῶν δέκα βοηθοὺς ἔξέπεμψαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, δείσαντες, ὅπερ ἐγένετο, μὴ νικηθῶσιν 5 οἱ Κερκυραῖοι καὶ αἱ σφέτεραι δέκα νῆες ὀλίγαι ἀμύνειν ὥσιν. ταύτας οὖν προϊδόντες 51 οἱ Κορίνθιοι καὶ ὑποτοπήσαντες ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν εἶναι οὐχ ὅσας ἐώρων ἀλλὰ πλείους ὑπανεχώρουν. τοῖς δὲ Κερκυ- 2 ραίοις (ἐπέπλεον γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐκ τοῦ ἀφανοῦς) οὐχ ἐωρῶντο, καὶ ἐθαύμαζον τοὺς Κορινθίους πρύμναν κρουομένους, πρίν τινες ἰδόντες εἰπον ὅτι νῆες ἐκεῖναι ἐπιπλέουσιν. τότε δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνεχώρουν (ξυνεσκόταζε γὰρ ἥδη), καὶ 15 οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἀποτραπόμενοι τὴν διάλυσιν ἐποιήσαντο. οὗτο μὲν ἡ ἀπαλλαγὴ ἐγένετο 3 ἀλλήλων, καὶ ἡ ναυμαχία ἐτελεύτα ἐς νύκτα. τοῖς δὲ Κερκυραίοις στρατοπεδευομένοις ἐπὶ 4 τῇ Λευκίμμῃ αἱ εἴκοσι νῆες αἱ ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν 20 αὗται, ὡν ἥρχε Γλαύκων τε ὁ Λεάγρους καὶ ὁ Ανδοκίδης ὁ Λεωγόρους, διὰ τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ ναυαγίων προσκομισθεῖσαι κατέπλεον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον οὐ πολλῷ ὑστερον ἡ ὥφθησαν. οἱ δὲ Κερκυραῖοι (ἥν γὰρ νύξ) ἐφοβήθησαν 5 25 μὴ πολέμαι ὥσιν, ἔπειτα δὲ ἔγνωσαν· καὶ ὠρμίσαντο.

Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἀναγαγόμεναι αἱ τε 52

13. δὴ C[G] * post καὶ [G] add. οἱ ΑΒΕΦΜ[G] 15. ἀπο-
τρεπόμενοι ΑΒΦ[G] 18. Κερκυραίοις δὲ ΑΒΕΦΜ[G] 19. αἱ
ἐκ] ἀπὸ ΑΒΕΦΜ[G] 21. [Ανδοκίδης] Δρακοντίδης in titulo
(C.I.A. i. 179) nominatur 27. ἀναγόμεναι ΑΒΕΦΜ

Αττικαὶ τριάκοντα νῆες καὶ τῶν Κερκυραίων

Next day the
Corinthians
decline to renew
the fight.

ὅσαι πλώιμοι ἦσαν ἐπέπλευσαν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν τοῖς Συβότοις λιμένα, ἐν ᾧ οἱ Κορίνθιοι ὥρμουν, βουλόμενοι

2 εἰδέναι εἰ ναυμαχήσουσιν. οἱ δὲ τὰς μὲν ναῦς ἄραντες ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ παραταξάμενοι μετεώρους ἡσύχαζον, ναυμαχίας οὐ διανοούμενοι ἄρχειν ἐκόντες ὄρῶντες προσγεγενημένας τε ναῦς ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἀκραιφνεῖς καὶ σφίσι πολλὰ τὰ ἄπορα ξυμβεβηκότα, αἰχμαλώτων 10 τε περὶ φυλακῆς οὓς ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν εἶχον, καὶ ἐπισκευὴν οὐκ οὖσαν τῶν νεῶν ἐν χωρίῳ ἐρήμῳ. 3 τοῦ δὲ οἴκαδε πλοῦ μᾶλλον διεσκόπουν ὅπη κομισθήσονται, δεδιότες μὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι νομίσαντες λελύσθαι τὰς σπονδάς, διότι ἐς χεῖρας 15 53 ἥλθον, οὐκ ἐώσι σφᾶς ἀποπλεῖν. ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἄνδρας ἐς κελήτιον ἐσβιβάσαντας ἄνευ κηρυκείου προσπέμψαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ πεῖραν ποιήσασθαι.

They send a
protest to the
Athenians.

αὐτοῖς ἄνδρας ἐς κελήτιον ἐσβιβάσαντας ἄνευ κηρυκείου προσπέμψαι

2 πέμψαντές τε ἔλεγον τοιάδε. “ἀδικεῖτε, ὡς 20 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πολέμου ἄρχοντες καὶ σπονδὰς λύοντες· ἡμῖν γὰρ πολεμίους τοὺς ἡμετέρους τιμωρουμένους ἐμποδὼν ἵστασθε ὅπλα ἀνταιρόμενοι. εἰ δὲ ὑμῖν γνώμη ἐστὶ κωλύειν τε ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν ἡ ἄλλοσε εἴς 25 ποι βουλόμεθα πλεῖν καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς λύετε, ἡμᾶς τούσδε πρώτους λαβόντες χρήσασθε ὡς

17. ἐμβιβάσαντας AB (-εις) CG Lex. Vind., Greg. Cor.
18. προσπέμψαι CM Greg. Cor. 25. πῃ CG Lex. Vind.
27. λαβόντες πρώτους ABEFM

πολεμίοις.” οἱ μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα εἶπον· τῶν δὲ 3
Κερκυραίων τὸ μὲν στρατόπεδον ὅσον ἐπήκου-
σεν ἀνεβόησεν εὐθὺς λαβεῖν τε αὐτοὺς καὶ
ἀποκτεῖναι, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τοιάδε ἀπεκρίναντο.
5 “οὔτε ἄρχομεν πολέμου, ὡς ἄνδρες Πελο- 4
ποννήσιοι, οὔτε τὰς σπουδὰς λύομεν, Κερκυ-
ραίοις δὲ τοῖσδε ξυμμάχοις οὖσι βοηθοὶ
ηλθομεν. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοσέ ποι βούλεσθε
πλεῖν, οὐ κωλύομεν. εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν
10 πλευσεῖσθε ἡ ἐς τῶν ἐκείνων τι χωρίων, οὐ
περιοφόμεθα κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν.”

Τοιαῦτα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀποκριναμένων οἱ 54
μὲν Κορίνθιοι τόν τε πλοῦν τὸν Both sides
ἐπ’ οἴκου παρεσκευάζοντο καὶ claimed a
victory.

15 τροπαῖον ἔστησαν ἐν τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ
Συβότοις· οἱ δὲ Κερκυραῖοι τά τε ναυάγια καὶ
νεκροὺς ἀνείλοντο τὰ κατὰ σφᾶς ἔξενεχθέντα
ὑπό τε τοῦ ροῦ καὶ ἀνέμου, ὃς γενόμενος τῆς
νυκτὸς διεσκέδασεν αὐτὰ πανταχῷ, καὶ
20 τροπαῖον ἀντέστησαν ἐν τοῖς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ
Συβότοις ως νευικηκότες. γνώμῃ δὲ τοιάδε 2
ἐκάτεροι τὴν νίκην προσεποιήσαντο· Κορίνθιοι
μὲν κρατήσαντες τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ μέχρι νυκτός,
ῶστε καὶ ναυάγια πλεῖστα καὶ νεκροὺς προσ-
25 κομίσασθαι, καὶ ἄνδρας ἔχοντες αἰχμαλώτους
οὐκ ἐλάσσους χιλίων ναῦς τε καταδύσαντες
περὶ ἐβδομήκοντα ἔστησαν τροπαῖον. Κερκυ-
ραῖοι δὲ τριάκοντα ναῦς μάλιστα διαφθεί-

16. post καὶ add. τοὺς Schol.
[G] 18. τε om. ABF

17. ἔξενεχθέντων C γρ. Schol.
22. ἐκάτεροι τοιάδε ΑΒΕΦΜ

ραντες, καὶ ἐπειδὴ Ἀθηναῖοι ἥλθον, ἀνελόμενοι τὰ κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ναυάγια καὶ νεκρούς, καὶ ὅτι αὐτοῖς τῇ τε προτεραιᾳ πρύμναν κρουόμενοι ὑπεχώρησαν οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἰδόντες τὰς Ἀττικὰς ναῦς, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἥλθον οἱ 5 Ἀθηναῖοι, οὐκ ἀντεπέπλεον ἐκ τῶν Συβότων,

55 διὰ ταῦτα τροπαῖον ἔστησαν. οὗτω μὲν ἔκάτεροι νικᾶν ἤξιουν· οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι The Corinthians ἀποπλέοντες ἐπ' οἴκου Ἀνακτόριον, sail home with prisoners. ὅ ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ Ἀμ- 10 πρακικοῦ κόλπου, εἶλον ἀπάτη (ἥν δὲ κοινὸν Κερκυραίων καὶ ἐκείνων) καὶ καταστήσαντες ἐν αὐτῷ Κορινθίους οἰκήτορας ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου, καὶ τῶν Κερκυραίων ὀκτακοσίους μὲν οἱ ἥσαν δοῦλοι ἀπέδοντο, πεντήκοντα δὲ καὶ 15 διακοσίους δῆσαντες ἐφύλασσον καὶ ἐν θεραπείᾳ εἰχον πολλῆ, ὅπως αὐτοῖς τὴν Κέρκυραν ἀναχωρήσαντες προσποιήσειαν· ἐτύγχανον δὲ καὶ δυνάμει αὐτῶν οἱ πλείους πρώτοι ὅντες 2 τῆς πόλεως. ἡ μὲν οὖν Κέρκυρα οὗτω 20 This was the first ground of war between Corinth and Athens. περιγγύνεται τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν Κορινθίων, καὶ αἱ νῆες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀνεχώρησαν ἐξ αὐτῆς· αἰτία δὲ αὕτη πρώτη ἐγένετο τοῦ πολέμου τοῖς Κορινθίοις ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὅτι σφίσιν ἐν 25 σπονδαῖς μετὰ Κερκυραίων ἐναυμάχουν.

56 Μετὰ ταῦτα δ' εὐθὺς καὶ τάδε ξυνέβη γενέσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Πελοποννησίοις 6. οὐκ ἀντεπλεον EG: οὐ κατέπλεον ABFM 28. τοῖς om. ABEFM

διάφορα ἔς τὸ πολεμεῖν. τῶν γὰρ Κορινθίων 2
 πρασσόντων ὅπως τιμωρήσονται
 αὐτούς, ὑποτοπήσαντες τὴν ἔχθραν
 αὐτῶν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι Ποτειδεάτας,
 5 οἱ οἰκοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἴσθμῷ τῆς
 Παλλήνης, Κορινθίων ἀποίκους,
 ἑαυτῶν δὲ ξυμμάχους φόρου ὑπο-
 τελεῖς, ἐκέλευνον τὸ ἔς Παλλήνην
 τεῖχος καθελεῖν καὶ ὁμήρους δοῦναι, τούς τε
 10 ἐπιδημιουργοὺς ἐκπέμπειν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν μὴ
 δέχεσθαι οὓς κατὰ ἔτος ἔκαστον Κορίνθιοι
 ἐπεμπον, δείσαντες μὴ ἀποστῶσιν ὑπό τε
 Περδίκκου πειθόμενοι καὶ Κορινθίων, τούς τε
 ἄλλους τοὺς ἐπὶ Θράκης ξυναποστήσωσι
 15 ξυμμάχους. ταῦτα δὲ περὶ τοὺς
 Ποτειδεάτας οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι προ-
 παρεσκευάζοντο εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν ἐν
 Κερκύρᾳ ναυμαχίαν. οἱ τε γὰρ
 Κορίνθιοι φανερῶς ἥδη διάφοροι ἦσαν,
 20 Περδίκκας τε ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρου Μακεδόνων
 βασιλεὺς ἐπεπολέμωτο ξύμμαχος πρότερον καὶ
 φίλος ὅν. ἐπολεμώθη δὲ ὅτι Φιλίππω τῷ 3
 ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφῷ καὶ Δέρδα κοινῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν
 ἐναντιουμένοις οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ξυνμαχίαν ἐποιή-
 25 σαντο. δεδιώς τε ἐπρασσεν ἔς τε τὴν 4
 Λακεδαιμονα πέμπων ὅπως πόλεμος γένηται
 αὐτοῖς πρὸς Πελοποννησίους, καὶ τοὺς Κοριν-

Immediately
 after the battle,
 a second differ-
 ence occurred.
 Potidaea, a
 colony of
 Corinth and ally
 of Athens, was
 ordered to give
 securities of its
 loyalty to
 Athens.

K. Perdiccas of
 Macedon
 encourages
 opposition to
 Athens in the
 north.

57

2

2. τιμωρήσωνται AEFGM 14. τοὺς οι. ABEFM || ξυναπο-
 στήσονται ABEFM[G] 15. περὶ] πρὸς G : παρὰ M 19. ἥδη
 οι. CG (add. G¹)

θίους προσεποιεῖτο τῆς Ποτειδαίας ἔνεκα
5 ἀποστάσεως· προσέφερε δὲ λόγους καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ
Θράκης Χαλκιδεῦσι καὶ Βοττιαίοις ξυναπο-
στῆναι, νομίζων, εἰ ἔνυμαχα ταῦτα ἔχοι ὅμορα
δῆντα τὰ χωρία, ἥδον ἀν τὸν πόλεμον μετ' 5
6 αὐτῶν ποιεῖσθαι. ὡν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι αἰσθόμενοι
καὶ Βουλόμενοι προκαταλαμβάνειν τῶν πόλεων
τὰς ἀποστάσεις (ἔτυχον γὰρ τριάκοντα ναῦς
ἀποστέλλοντες καὶ χιλίους ὅπλίτας ἐπὶ τὴν
γῆν αὐτοῦ, Ἀρχεστράτου τοῦ Λυκομήδους μετ' 10
ἄλλων τὸ δέκατον στρατηγοῦντος) ἐπιστέλλοντες
τοῖς ἄρχουσι τῶν νεῶν Ποτειδεατῶν τε
ὅμηρους λαβεῖν καὶ τὸ τεῖχος καθελεῖν, τῶν
τε πλησίον πόλεων φυλακὴν ἔχειν ὅπως μὴ
ἀποστήσονται.

15

58 Ποτειδεῖται δὲ πέμψαντες μὲν καὶ παρ'

Revolt of
Potidaea and
other places;
Olynthus
becomes their
centre.

Ἀθηναίους πρέσβεις, εἰ πως πεί-
σειαν μὴ σφῶν πέρι νεωτερίζειν
μηδέν, ἐλθόντες δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Λακε-
δαίμονα μετὰ Κορινθίων, [ἐπρασσον] 20

ὅπως ἔτοιμάσαιντο τιμωρίαν, ἦν δέη, ἐπειδὴ
ἔκ τε Ἀθηνῶν ἐκ πολλοῦ πράσσοντες οὐδὲν
ηὔροντο ἐπιτήδειον, ἀλλ' αἱ νῆες αἱ ἐπὶ
Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐπὶ σφᾶς ὄμοιῶς ἐπλεον, καὶ
τὰ τέλη τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὑπέσχετο αὐτοῖς, 25
ἦν ἐπὶ Ποτείδαιαν ἴωσιν Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐς τὴν
Ἀττικὴν ἐσβαλεῖν, τότε δὴ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν

5. τὰ om. ABEFM 11. δέκα] τεσσάρων Krüger 15.
ἀποστήσονται C: ἀποστήσωνται cett. 20. ἐπρασσον secl.
Poppo 22. Ἀθηνῶν C: Ἀθηναίων cett. 25. ὑπέσχοντο
C? (corr. c) G

τοῦτον ἀφίστανται μετὰ Χαλκιδέων καὶ Βοτ-
τιαίων κοινὴ ξυνομόσαντες. καὶ Περδίκκας 2
πείθει Χαλκιδέας τὰς ἐπὶ θαλάσση πόλεις
ἐκλιπόντας καὶ καταβαλόντας ἀνοικίσασθαι ἐς
5 Ὀλυνθον μίαν τε πόλιν ταύτην ἴσχυρὰν
ποιήσασθαι· τοῖς τ' ἐκλιποῦσι τούτοις τῆς
ἐαυτοῦ γῆς τῆς Μυγδονίας περὶ τὴν Βόλβην
λίμνην ἔδωκε νέμεσθαι, ἕως ἂν ὁ πρὸς
10 Ἀθηναίους πόλεμος ἥ. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀνφκίζοντό
τε καθαιροῦντες τὰς πόλεις καὶ ἐς πόλεμον
παρεσκευάζοντο· αἱ δὲ τριάκοντα νῆες τῶν 59
15 Ἀθηναίων ἀφικνοῦνται ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης, καὶ
καταλαμβάνουσι τὴν τε Ποτείδαιαν καὶ τάλλα
ἀφεστηκότα. νομίσαντες δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ 2
ἀδύνατα εἶναι πρός τε Περδίκκαν πολεμεῖν τῇ
παρούσῃ δυνάμει καὶ τὰ ξυναφεστῶτα χωρία
τρέπονται ἐπὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν, ἐφ' ὅπερ καὶ
τὸ πρῶτον ἔξεπέμποντο, καὶ καταστάντες
ἐπολέμουν μετὰ Φιλίππου καὶ τῶν Δέρδουν
20 ἀδελφῶν ἄνωθεν στρατιὰ ἐσβεβληκότων. καὶ 60
ἐν τούτῳ οἱ Κορίνθιοι, τῆς Ποτείδαιας ἀφε-
στηκούσις καὶ τῶν Ἀττικῶν νεῶν Corinth sends
help to
Potidaea.
περὶ Μακεδονίαν οὐσῶν, δεδιότες
περὶ τῷ χωρίῳ καὶ οἰκεῖον τὸν κίνδυνον
25 ἥγούμενοι πέμπουσιν ἐαυτῶν τε ἐθελοντὰς καὶ
τῶν ἄλλων Πελοποννησίων μισθῷ πείσαντες
ἐξακοσίους καὶ χιλίους τοὺς πάντας ὄπλίτας
καὶ ψιλοὺς τετρακοσίους. ἐστρατήγει δὲ αὐτῶν 2
Ἀριστεὺς ὁ Ἀδειμάντου, κατὰ φιλίαν τε αὐτοῦ

οὐχ ἥκιστα οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐκ Κορίνθου στρατιῶται ἐθελονταὶ ξυνέσποντο. ἦν γὰρ τοῖς 3 Ποτειδεάταις αἰεί ποτε ἐπιτήδειος. καὶ ἀφικοῦνται τεσσαρακοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὕστερον ἐπὶ Θράκης ἡ Ποτείδαια ἀπέστη. 5

61 Ἡλθε δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις εὐθὺς ἡ ἀγγελία τῶν πόλεων ὅτι ἀφεστᾶσι, καὶ πέμπουσιν, ώς ἥσθοντο καὶ τοὺς μετ' Ἀριστέως ἐπιπαριόντας, δισχιλίους ἑαυτῶν ὄπλίτας καὶ 10 τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς πρὸς τὰ ἀφεστῶτα, καὶ Καλλίαν τὸν Καλλιάδου πέμπτον 2 αὐτὸν στρατηγόν, οἱ ἀφικόμενοι ἐς Μακεδονίαν πρῶτον καταλαμβάνουσι τοὺς προτέρους χιλίους Θέρμην ἄρτι ἥρηκότας καὶ Πύδναν πολιορ- 15 3 κοῦντας. προσκαθεζόμενοι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν Πύδναν ἐπολιόρκησαν μέν, ἐπειτα δὲ ξύμβασιν ποιησάμενοι καὶ ξυμμαχίαν ἀναγκαίαν πρὸς τὸν Περδίκκαν, ώς αὐτοὺς κατήπειγεν ἡ Ποτείδαια καὶ ὁ Ἀριστεὺς παρεληλυθώς, 20 4 ἀπανίστανται ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας, καὶ ἀφικόμενοι ἐς Βέροιαν κάκεῖθεν ἐπὶ Στρέψαν καὶ πειράσαντες πρῶτον τοῦ χωρίου καὶ οὐχ ἐλόντες ἐπορεύοντο κατὰ γῆν πρὸς τὴν Ποτείδαιαν, τρισχιλίοις μὲν ὄπλίταις ἑαυτῶν, 25 χωρὶς δὲ τῶν ξυμμάχων πολλοῖς, ἵππεῦσι δὲ ἔξακοσίοις Μακεδόνων τοῖς μετὰ Φιλίππου καὶ

5. ἡ f: ἡ cett.: ἡ ὑπερβολή Herwerden 9. ἐπιπαριόντας
Ullrich: ἐπιπαρόντας codd. 22. ἐπὶ Στρέψαν Pluygers:
ἐπιστρέψαντες codd.

Παυσανίου· ἂμα δὲ νῆες παρέπλεον ἐβδομή-
κοντα. κατ' ὀλίγον δὲ προϊόντες τριταῖοι⁵
ἀφίκοντο ἐς Γίγωνον καὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο.

Ποτειδεάται δὲ καὶ οἱ μετὰ Ἀριστέως **62**

5 Πελοποννήσιοι προσδεχόμενοι τοὺς
Ἀθηναίους ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο πρὸς
Ὀλύνθου ἐν τῷ ἴσθμῷ, καὶ ἀγορὰν
ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐπεποίηντο. στρα-
τηγὸν μὲν οὖν τοῦ πεζοῦ παντὸς οἱ ξύμμαχοι
10 ἦρηντο Ἀριστέα, τῆς δὲ ἵππου Περδίκκαν·
ἀπέστη γὰρ εὐθὺς πάλιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ
ξυνεμάχει τοῖς Ποτειδεάταις, Ἰόλαον ἀνθ’
αὐτοῦ καταστήσας ἄρχοντα. ἦν δὲ ἡ γνώμη³
τοῦ Ἀριστέως τὸ μὲν μεθ’ ἑαυτοῦ στρατόπεδον
15 ἔχοντι ἐν τῷ ἴσθμῷ ἐπιτηρεῖν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους,
ἡν ἐπίωσι, Χαλκιδέας δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἔξω ἴσθμοῦ
ξυμμάχους καὶ τὴν παρὰ Περδίκκου διακοσίαν
ἵππουν ἐν Ὀλύνθῳ μένειν, καὶ ὅταν Ἀθηναῖοι
ἐπὶ σφᾶς χωρῶσι, κατὰ νότου βοηθοῦντας ἐν
20 μέσῳ ποιεῖν αὐτῶν τοὺς πολεμίους. Καλλίας⁴
δ’ αὖ ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸς καὶ οἱ
ξυνάρχοντες τοὺς μὲν Μακεδόνας ἵππέας καὶ
τῶν ξυμμάχων ὀλίγους ἐπὶ Ὀλύνθου ἀπο-
πέμπουσιν, ὅπως εἴργωσι τοὺς ἐκεῖθεν ἐπι-
25 βοηθεῖν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀναστήσαντες τὸ στρατόπεδον
ἔχώρουν ἐπὶ τὴν Ποτείδαιαν, καὶ ἐπειδὴ πρὸς⁵
τῷ ἴσθμῷ ἐγένοντο καὶ εἶδον τοὺς ἐναντίους
παρασκευαζομένους ὡς ἐς μάχην, ἀντικαθίσταντο

Battle before
Potidaea. The
Athenians drive
the Potidaeans
and Pel. into
the city.

2

6. πρὸ G

7. Ὀλύνθῳ ABEF

9. οὖν cG: om. cett.

15. ἔχοντα EG

20. αὐτῶν g: αὐτῶν codd.

6 καὶ αὐτοί, καὶ οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ξυνέμισγον.
 καὶ αὐτὸ μὲν τὸ τοῦ Ἀριστέως κέρας καὶ ὅσοι
 περὶ ἐκεῖνον ἦσαν Κορινθίων τε καὶ τῶν
 ἄλλων λογάδες ἔτρεψαν τὸ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς καὶ
 ἐπεξῆλθον διώκοντες ἐπὶ πολύ τὸ δὲ ἄλλο 5
 στρατόπεδον Ποτειδεατῶν καὶ Πελοποννησίων
 ἥσσατο ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος
 κατέφυγεν.

63 Ἐπαναχωρῶν δὲ ὁ Ἀριστεὺς ἀπὸ τῆς

The Corinthians
 enter the city
 with difficulty.
 The Athenians
 victorious.

διώξεως, ὡς ὄρᾳ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα 10
 ἥσσημένον, ἡπόρησε μὲν ὄποτέρωσε
 διακινδυνεύσῃ χωρήσας, ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς

’Ολύνθου ἢ ἐς τὴν Ποτείδαιαν ἔδοξε δ' οὖν
 ξυναγαγόντι τοὺς μεθ' αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐς ἐλάχιστον
 χωρίον δρόμῳ βιάσασθαι ἐς τὴν Ποτείδαιαν, καὶ 15
 παρῆλθε παρὰ τὴν χηλὴν διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης
 βαλλόμενός τε καὶ χαλεπῶς, ὀλίγους μέν τινας
 2 ἀποβαλών, τοὺς δὲ πλείους σώσας. οἱ δ' ἀπὸ
 τῆς ’Ολύνθου τοῖς Ποτειδεάταις βοηθοί (ἀπέχει
 δὲ ἔξηκοντα μάλιστα σταδίους καὶ ἔστι^{2c}
 καταφανές), ὡς ἡ μάχη ἐγίγνετο καὶ τὰ
 σημεῖα ἥρθη, βραχὺ μέν τι προῆλθον ὡς
 βοηθήσοντες, καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες ἵππης ἀντι-
 παρετάξαντο ὡς κωλύσοντες. ἐπειδὴ δὲ διὰ
 τάχους ἡ νίκη τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐγίγνετο καὶ τὰ 25
 σημεῖα κατεσπάσθη, πάλιν ἐπανεχώρουν ἐς τὸ
 τεῖχος καὶ οἱ Μακεδόνες παρὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

6. post στρατόπεδον add. τῶν τε ΑΒΕΦ, τῶν Μ 7. post
 καὶ add. τῶν ΑΒΕΦΜ 10. ἐώρα cG 13. δ' οὖν Poppo:
 γοῦν codd.[G] 14. ἑαυτοῦ ΑΒΕΦΜ[G] 15. els (sic)
 afM : om. cett.[G] 19. ἀπεῖχε ΑΒΕΦΜ[G]

ιππῆς δ' οὐδετέροις παρεγένοντο. μετὰ δὲ τὴν 3
μάχην τροπαῖον ἔστησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ
τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέδοσαν τοῖς
Ποτειδεάταις· ἀπέθανον δὲ Ποτειδεατῶν μὲν
5 καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων δλίγῳ ἐλάσσους τριακοσίων,
Ἀθηναίων δὲ αὐτῶν πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν
καὶ Καλλίας ὁ στρατηγός. τὸ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ 64
ἰσθμοῦ [τεῖχος] εὐθὺς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀποτειχί-
σαντες ἐφρούρουν· τὸ δ' ἐς τὴν
20 Παλλήνην ἀτείχιστον ἦν· οὐ γὰρ
ἰκανοὶ ἐνόμιζον εἶναι ἐν τε τῷ
ἰσθμῷ φρουρεῦν καὶ ἐς τὴν Παλλήνην
διαβάντες τειχίζειν, δεδιότες μὴ σφίσιν οἱ
Ποτειδεάται καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι γενομένους δίχα
15 ἐπίθωνται. καὶ πυνθανόμενοι οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει 2
Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν Παλλήνην ἀτείχιστον οὖσαν,
χρόνῳ ὕστερον πέμπουσιν ἑξακοσίους καὶ
χιλίους ὀπλίτας ἐαυτῶν καὶ Φορμίωνα τὸν
Ἀσωπίου στρατηγόν· ὃς ἀφικόμενος ἐς τὴν
20 Παλλήνην καὶ ἐξ Ἀφύτιος ὄρμώμενος προσή-
γαγε τῇ Ποτειδαίᾳ τὸν στρατὸν κατὰ βραχὺ
προϊὼν καὶ κείρων ἅμα τὴν γῆν, ὡς δὲ οὐδεὶς
ἐπεξήει ἐς μάχην, ἀπετείχισε τὸ ἐκ τῆς
Παλλήνης [τεῖχος]. καὶ οὕτως ἥδη κατὰ 3
25 κράτος ἡ Ποτειδαία ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐπολιορκεῖτο
καὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης ταυσὶν ἅμα ἐφορμούσαις.
Ἀριστεὺς δὲ ἀποτειχισθείσης αὐτῆς καὶ ἐλπίδα 65
οὐδεμίαν ἔχων σωτηρίας, ἦν μή τι ἀπὸ Πελο-

Potidaea block-
aded, at first
from the north,
and presently
from the south
also.

8. τεῖχος secl. Classen
24. τεῖχος secl. Herwerden

14. γενομένοις G: γιγνομένοις eett.

ποννήσου ἡ ἄλλο παρὰ λόγον γίγνηται, ξυνε-
βούλενε μὲν πλὴν πεντακοσίων
ἀνεμον τηρήσασι τοὺς ἄλλοις ἐκ-
πλεῦσαι, ὅπως ἐπὶ πλέον ὁ σῖτος
ἀντίσχῃ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἥθελε τῶν μενόν- 5

των εἶναι· ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε, βουλόμενος τὰ ἐπὶ
τούτοις παρασκευάζειν καὶ ὅπως τὰ ἔξωθεν ἔξει
ὡς ἄριστα, ἐκπλουν ποιεῖται λαθὼν τὴν φυλακὴν
2 τῶν Ἀθηναίων. καὶ παραμένων ἐν Χαλκιδεῖσι
τά τε ἄλλα ξυνεπολέμει καὶ Σερμυλιῶν λοχήσας 10
πρὸς τὴν πόλει πολλοὺς διέφθειρεν, ἐς τε τὴν
Πελοπόννησον ἔπρασσεν ὅπη ὡφελία τις
γενήσεται. μετὰ δὲ τῆς Ποτειδαίας τὴν
ἀποτείχισιν Φορμίων μὲν ἔχων τοὺς ἔξακοσίους
καὶ χιλίους τὴν Χαλκιδικὴν καὶ Βόττικὴν ἐδήσουν 15
καὶ ἔστιν ἀ καὶ πολίσματα εἶλεν.

66 Τοῖς δὲ Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Πελοποννησίοις
Thus ill-feeling
between Corinth
and Athens was
increased.

αἰτίαι μὲν αὗται προυγεγένητο ἐς
ἄλληλους, τοῖς μὲν Κορινθίοις ὅτι
τὴν Ποτείδαιαν ἔαυτῶν οὖσαν 20
ἀποικίαν καὶ ἄνδρας Κορινθίων τε καὶ
Πελοποννησίων ἐν αὐτῇ ὅντας ἐπολιόρκουν,
τοῖς δὲ Ἀθηναίοις ἐς τοὺς Πελοποννησίους ὅτι
έαυτῶν τε πόλιν ξυμμαχίδα καὶ φόρου ὑποτελῆ
ἀπέστησαν, καὶ ἐλθόντες σφίσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ 25
προφανούς ἐμάχοντο μετὰ Ποτειδεατῶν. οὐ
μέντοι ὁ γε πόλεμός πω ξυνερρώγει, ἀλλ' ἔτι
ἀνοκωχὴ ἦν· ίδίᾳ γὰρ ταῦτα οἱ Κορίνθιοι

1. παρὰ λόγον Krüger: παράλογον cod. CG || 'Ερμυλίων ΑΒ

10. ἐπολέμει

ἐπραξαν. πολιορκουμένης δὲ τῆς οὐχ ἡσύχαζον, ἀνδρῶν τε σφίσιν ἐνόντων καὶ ἄμα περὶ τῷ χωρίῳ δεδιότες· παρεκάλουν τε εὐθὺς ἐς τὴν Λακεδαιμονα τοὺς ξυμμάχους καὶ κατεβόων ἐλθόντες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὅτι σπονδάς τε λελυκότες εἴεν καὶ ἀδικοῦεν τὴν Πελοπόννησον. Αἰγινῆται τε 2 φανερῶς μὲν οὐ πρεσβευόμενοι, δεδιότες τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, κρύφα δὲ οὐχ ἡκιστα μετ' αὐτῶν ἐνῆγον τὸν πόλεμον, λέγοντες οὐκ εἶναι αὐτόνομοι κατὰ τὰς σπονδάς. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι προσπαρακαλέσαντες τῶν ξυμμάχων τε καὶ εἴ τίς τι ἄλλο ἔφη ἡδικῆσθαι ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, ξύλλογον σφῶν αὐτῶν ποιήσαντες τὸν εἰωθότα λέγειν ἐκέλευνον. καὶ ἄλλοι τε 4 παριόντες ἐγκλήματα ἐποιοῦντο ώς ἔκαστοι καὶ Μεγαρῆς, δηλοῦντες μὲν καὶ ἔτερα οὐκ ὀλίγα διάφορα, μάλιστα δὲ λιμένων τε 20 εἴργεσθαι τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἀρχῇ καὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀγορᾶς παρὰ τὰς σπονδάς. παρελθόντες δὲ τελευταῖοι Κορίνθιοι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἔάσαντες πρῶτον παροξύναι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπεῖπον τοιάδε.

25 “Τὸ πιστὸν ὑμᾶς, ὡ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τῆς 68 καθ' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς πολιτείας καὶ ὄμιλίας ἀπιστοτέρους ἐσ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἦν τι λέγωμεν, καθίστησιν· καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ σωφροσύνην μὲν ἔχετε, ἄμα-

The Corinthians bring about a congress at Sparta of allies and others having complaints against Athens.

Ποτειδαίας 67

Speech of the Corinthian envoy. ‘You have been indifferent to our warnings and complaints.

θίᾳ δὲ πλέονι πρὸς τὰ ἔξω πράγματα χρῆσθε. 2 πολλάκις γὰρ προαγορεύοντων ἡμῶν ἀ ἐμέλλομεν ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων βλάπτεσθαι, οὐ περὶ ὧν ἐδιδάσκομεν ἐκάστοτε τὴν μάθησιν ἐποιεῖσθε, ἀλλὰ τῶν λεγόντων μᾶλλον ὑπενοεῖτε ὡς ἔνεκα 5 τῶν αὐτοῖς ἴδιᾳ διαφόρων λέγουσιν· καὶ δὶ’ αὐτὸ οὐ πρὶν πάσχειν, ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐσμέν, τοὺς ξυμμάχους τούσδε παρεκαλέσατε, ἐν οἷς προσήκει ἡμᾶς οὐχ ἥκιστα εἰπεῖν, ὅσῳ καὶ μέγιστα ἐγκλήματα ἔχομεν ὑπὸ μὲν 10 Ἀθηναίων ὑβριζόμενοι, ὑπὸ δὲ ὑμῶν ἀμελούμενοι.

3 “Καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀφανεῖς που ὄντες ἡδίκουν τὴν ^{Yet the ambition of Athens is plain enough.} Ἐλλάδα, διδασκαλίας ἀν ὡς οὐκ εἰδόσι προσέδει· νῦν δὲ τί δεῖ 15 μακρηγορεῖν, ὡν τοὺς μὲν δεδουλωμένους ὄράτε, τοῖς δὲ ἐπιβουλεύοντας αὐτούς, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τοῖς ἡμετέροις ξυμμάχοις, καὶ ἐκ πολλοῦ προπαρεσκευασμένους, εἴ ποτε ἄρα πολεμή- 4 σονται; οὐ γὰρ ἀν Κέρκυράν τε ὑπολαβόντες 20 βίᾳ ἡμῶν εἶχον καὶ Ποτείδαιαν ἐπολιόρκουν, ὡν τὸ μὲν ἐπικαιρότατον χωρίον πρὸς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης ἀποχρῆσθαι, ἡ δὲ ναυτικὸν ἀν μέγιστον 69 παρέσχε Πελοποννησίοις. καὶ τῶνδε ὑμεῖς ^{You have allowed Athens to grow in power and to encroach on the rights of others.} αἴτιοι, τό τε πρῶτον ἐάσαντες 25 αὐτοὺς τὴν πόλιν μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ κρατῦναι καὶ ὕστερον τὰ μακρὰ στῆσαι τείχη, ἐς τόδε τε αἰεὶ

19. ἄρα f M Schol. : om. cett.
24. post παρέσχε add. τοῖς BCG

23. ἐπιχρῆσθαι M Schol.

ἀποστεροῦντες οὐ μόνον τοὺς ὑπ' ἐκείνων
δεδουλωμένους ἐλευθερίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς
ὑμετέρους ἥδη ξυμμάχους· οὐ γὰρ ὁ δουλωσά-
μενος, ἀλλ' ὁ δυνάμενος μὲν παῦσαι περιορῶν
δὲ ἀληθέστερον αὐτὸν δρᾶ, εἴπερ καὶ τὴν
ἀξίωσιν τῆς ἀρετῆς ὡς ἐλευθερῶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα
φέρεται. μόλις δὲ νῦν γε ξυνήλθομεν καὶ 2
οὐδὲ νῦν ἐπὶ φανεροῖς. χρῆν γὰρ οὐκ εἰ
ἀδικούμεθα ἔτι σκοπεῖν, ἀλλὰ καθ' ὃ τι
10 ἀμυνούμεθα· οἱ γὰρ δρῶντες βεβουλευμένοι
πρὸς οὐ διεγνωκότας ἥδη καὶ οὐ μέλλοντες
ἐπέρχονται. καὶ ἐπιστάμεθα οἴᾳ ^{>Your supineness} 3
όδῳ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ὅτι κατ' ^{encourages them.}
ολίγον χωροῦσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πέλας. καὶ
15 λανθάνειν μὲν οἰόμενοι διὰ τὸ ἀναίσθητον
ὑμῶν ἥσσον θαρσοῦσι, γνόντες δὲ εἰδότας
περιορᾶν ἴσχυρῶς ἐγκείσονται. ἥσυχάζετε γὰρ 4
μόνοι Ἑλλήνων, ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὐ τῇ
δυνάμει τινά, ἀλλὰ τῇ μελλήσει ἀμυνόμενοι,
20 καὶ μόνοι οὐκ ἀρχομένην τὴν αὐξησιν τῶν
ἐχθρῶν διπλασιουμένην δὲ καταλύοντες. καίτοι 5
ἐλέγεσθε ἀσφαλεῖς εἶναι, ὡν ἄρα ὁ λόγος τοῦ
ἔργου ἐκράτει. τόν τε γὰρ Μῆδον αὐτοὶ ἴσμεν
ἐκ περάτων γῆς πρότερον ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόν-
25 νησον ἐλθόντα ἦ τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν ἀξίως
προαπαντῆσαι, καὶ νῦν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους οὐχ
ἐκάς, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνον, ἀλλ' ἐγγὺς ὅντας περιο-
ρᾶτε, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπελθεῖν αὐτοὶ ἀμύνεσθαι

3. ἡμετέρους CG
Stephanus : τε codd.

7. φέρεται] φαίνεται ΑΒΕΓ γρ. Μ || γε
20. αὐξησιν] δύναμιν CG

βούλεσθε μᾶλλον ἐπιόντας, καὶ ἐς τύχας πρὸς πολλῷ δυνατωτέρους ἀγωνιζόμενοι καταστῆναι, ἐπιστάμενοι καὶ τὸν βάρβαρον αὐτὸν περὶ αὐτῷ τὰ πλείω σφαλέντα, καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πολλὰ ἡμᾶς ἥδη τοῖς ἀμαρτή-⁵ μασιν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ ἀφ' ὑμῶν τιμωρίᾳ περιγεγενημένους, ἐπεὶ αἴ γε ὑμέτεραι ἐλπίδες ἥδη τινάς που καὶ ἀπαρασκεύουσι διὰ τὸ

⁶ 'We speak as friends re-proaching friends.' πιστεῦσαι ἔφθειραν. καὶ μηδεὶς ὑμῶν ἐπ' ἔχθρᾳ τὸ πλέον ἢ αἰτίᾳ ¹⁰ νομίση τάδε λέγεσθαι· αἰτία μὲν γὰρ φίλων ἀνδρῶν ἐστὶν ἀμαρτανόντων, κατηγορία δὲ ἔχθρῶν ἀδικησάντων.

70 "Consider the contrast between your character and theirs." "Καὶ ἄμα, εἴπερ τινὲς καὶ ἄλλοι, ἄξιοι νομίζομεν εἶναι τοῖς πέλας ψόγον ¹⁵ ἐπενεγκεῖν, ἄλλως τε καὶ μεγάλων τῶν διαφερόντων καθεστώτων, περὶ

ῶν οὐκ αἰσθάνεσθαι ἡμῖν γε δοκεῖτε, οὐδὲ ἐκλογίσασθαι πώποτε πρὸς οἶους ὑμῖν Ἀθηναίους ὄντας καὶ ὅσον ὑμῶν καὶ ως πᾶν ²⁰ 2 διαφέροντας ὁ ἀγῶν ἐσται. οἱ μέν γε νεωτεροποιοὶ καὶ ἐπινοῆσαι ὀξεῖς καὶ ἐπιτελέσαι ἔργῳ ἢ ἀν γνῶσιν. ὑμεῖς δὲ τὰ ὑπάρχοντά τε σώζειν καὶ ἐπιγνῶνται μηδὲν καὶ ἔργῳ οὐδὲ ²⁵ 3 τάναγκαῖα ἐξικέσθαι. αὐθις δὲ οἱ μέν καὶ

'They are ingenious, energetic, daring, sanguine. You are' παρὰ δύναμιν τολμηταὶ καὶ παρὰ γνώμην κινδυνευταὶ καὶ ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς εὐέλπιδες· τὸ δὲ ὑμέτερον

τῆς τε δυνάμεως ἐνδεῖ πρᾶξαι τῆς ^{conservative,}
τε γνώμης μηδὲ τοῖς βεβαίοις ^{slow to move,}
^{hesitating.}

πιστεῦσαι τῶν τε δεινῶν μηδέποτε οἴεσθαι
ἀπολυθήσεσθαι. καὶ μὴν καὶ ἄοκνοι πρὸς 4
5 ὑμᾶς μελλητὰς καὶ ἀποδημητὰς ἐνδημο-
τάτους· οἴονται γὰρ οἱ μὲν τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ ἀν τι
κτᾶσθαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ τῷ ἐπελθεῖν καὶ τὰ ἔτοιμα
ἀν βλάψαι. κρατοῦντές τε τῶν ἔχθρῶν ἐπὶ 5
πλείστον ἔξερχονται καὶ νικώμενοι ἐπ' ἐλά-
10 χιστον ἀναπίπτουσιν. ἔτι δὲ τοῖς μὲν σώμασιν 6
ἀλλοτριωτάτοις ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως χρῶνται, τῇ
δὲ γνώμῃ οἰκειοτάτῃ ἐς τὸ πράσσειν τι ὑπὲρ
αὐτῆς. καὶ ἡ μὲν ἀν ἐπινοήσαντες μὴ ἐπεξ- 7
ἐλθωσιν, οἰκείων στέρεσθαι ἥγοῦνται, ἡ δὲ ἀν
15 ἐπελθόντες κτήσωνται, ὀλίγα πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα
τυχεῖν πράξαντες. ἦν δὲ ἄρα του καὶ πείρα
σφαλῶσιν, ἀντελπίσαντες ἄλλα ἐπλήρωσαν
τὴν χρείαν· μόνοι γὰρ ἔχουσί τε ὄμοιώς καὶ
ἐλπίζουσιν ἡ ἀν ἐπινοήσωσι διὰ τὸ ταχεῖαν
20 τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ποιεῖσθαι ὡν ἀν γνῶσιν. καὶ 8
ταῦτα μετὰ πόνων πάντα καὶ κινδύνων δι'
ὅλου τοῦ αἰώνος μοχθοῦσι, καὶ ἀπολαύοντιν
ἐλάχιστα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων διὰ τὸ αἰεὶ κτᾶσθαι
καὶ μήτε ἔορτὴν ἄλλο τι ἥγεισθαι ἡ τὸ τὰ
25 δέοντα πρᾶξαι ξυμφοράν τε οὐχ ἥσσον
ἥσυχίαν ἀπράγμονα ἡ ἀσχολίαν ἐπίπονον·
ῶστε εἴ τις αὐτοὺς ξυνελὼν φαίη πεφυκέναι 9
ἐπὶ τῷ μήτε αὐτοὺς ἔχειν ἥσυχίαν μήτε

7. ἐξελθεῖν Ullrich
θωσιν ABF

12. γνώμη δὲ ABEFM
14. οἰκεία ABEF

13. ἐξελ-

τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ἐᾶν, ὅρθῶς ἀν
εἴποι.

71 “Ταύτης μέντοι τοιαύτης ἀντικαθεστηκυίας
 ‘It is high time
to awake and be
doing.’ πόλεως, ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιοι, διαμέλλετε
 καὶ οἴεσθε τὴν ἡσυχίαν οὐ τούτοις ⁵
 τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀρκεῖν οὐδὲ τῇ
 μὲν παρασκευῇ δίκαια πράσσωσι, τῇ δὲ γυνώμῃ,
 ἦν ἀδικῶνται, δῆλοι ὡσι μὴ ἐπιτρέψοντες,
 ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ λυπεῖν τε τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ
 αὐτοὶ ἀμυνόμενοι μὴ βλάπτεσθαι τὸ ἵσον ¹⁰
 2 νέμετε. μόλις δ’ ἀν πόλει ὁμοίᾳ παροικοῦντες
 ἐτυγχάνετε τούτου· νῦν δ’, ὅπερ καὶ ἄρτι
 ἐδηλώσαμεν, ἀρχαιότροπα ὑμῶν τὰ ἐπιτηδεύ-
 3 ματα πρὸς αὐτούς ἔστιν. ἀνάγκη δὲ ὥσπερ
 τέχνης αἰεὶ τὰ ἐπιγιγνόμενα κρατεῖν· καὶ ¹⁵
 ἡσυχαζούσῃ μὲν πόλει τὰ ἀκίνητα νόμιμα
 ἄριστα, πρὸς πολλὰ δὲ ἀναγκαζομένοις ἔναιι
 πολλῆς καὶ τῆς ἐπιτεχνήσεως δεῖ. δι’ ὅπερ
 καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπὸ τῆς πολυπειρίας
 4 ἐπὶ πλέον ὑμῶν κεκαίνωται. μέχρι μὲν οὖν ²⁰
 τοῦδε ὡρίσθω ὑμῶν ἡ βραδυτής· νῦν δὲ τοῖς
 τε ἄλλοις καὶ Ποτειδεάταις, ὥσπερ ὑπεδέξασθε,
 βοηθήσατε κατὰ τάχος ἐσβαλόντες ἐς τὴν
 Ἀττικήν, ἵνα μὴ ἄνδρας τε φίλους καὶ
 ξυγγενεῖς τοῖς ἔχθίστοις προῆσθε καὶ ἡμᾶς ²⁵
 τοὺς ἄλλους ἀθυμίᾳ πρὸς ἐτέραν τινὰ ξυμ-
 5 μαχίαν τρέψητε. δρῶμεν δ’ ἀν ἀδικον οὐδὲν
 οὔτε πρὸς θεῶν τῶν ὄρκίων οὔτε πρὸς ἀνθρώ-
 πων τῶν αἰσθανομένων· λύουσι γὰρ σπουδὰς

οὐχ οἱ δι' ἐρημίαν ἄλλοις προσιόντες, ἀλλ' οἱ
μὴ βοηθοῦντες οἱς ἀν ξυνομόσωσιν. βουλο- 6
μένων δὲ ὑμῶν προθύμων εἶναι μενοῦμεν· οὔτε
γὰρ ὅσια ἀν ποιοῦμεν μεταβαλλό-
5 μενοι οὔτε ξυνηθεστέρους ἀν ἄλλους
εὑροιμεν. πρὸς τάδε βουλεύεσθε
εὑ καὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον πειρᾶσθε μὴ ἐλάσσω
ἐξηγεῖσθαι ἢ οἱ πατέρες ὑμῖν παρέδοσαν.”

If you do not
act, we must
seek friends
elsewhere.

7

Τοιαῦτα μὲν οἱ Κορίνθιοι εἰπον. τῶν δὲ 72

10 Ἀθηναίων ἔτυχε γὰρ πρεσβεία πρότερον ἐν τῇ Λακεδαιμονί περὶ ἄλλων παροῦσα, καὶ ως ἥσθοντο τῶν λόγων, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς παριτητέα
έσ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους εἶναι, τῶν μὲν ἐγκλη-
15 μάτων πέρι μηδὲν ἀπολογησομένους ὡν αἱ πόλεις ἐνεκάλουν, δηλῶσαι δὲ περὶ τοῦ παντὸς ως οὐ ταχέως αὐτοῖς βουλευτέον εἴη, ἀλλ' ἐν πλέονι σκεπτέον. καὶ ἀμα τὴν σφετέραν πόλιν ἐβούλοντο σημῆναι ὅση εἴη δύναμιν, καὶ
20 ὑπόμνησιν ποιήσασθαι τοῖς τε πρεσβυτέροις ὡν ἥδεσαν καὶ τοῖς νεωτέροις ἐξήγησιν ὡν ἄπειροι ἥσαν, νομίζοντες μᾶλλον ἀν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν λόγων πρὸς τὸ ἡσυχάζειν τραπέσθαι ἢ πρὸς τὸ πολεμεῖν. προσελθόντες οὖν τοῖς 2
25 Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔφασαν βούλεσθαι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐσ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν, εἴ τι μὴ ἀποκωλύοι. οἱ δὲ ἐκέλευόν τε παριέναι, καὶ παρελθόντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔλεγον τοιάδε.

Athenian envoys
happened to be
present, and
they wished to
justify the
conduct of
Athens.

12. καὶ secl. Krüger 20. ποιήσασθαι Cg: ποιήσεσθαι
cett. (-σθε M) 26. ἀποκωλύει F: ἀποκωλύῃ ΑΒΕΜ[G]
27 ἐπιέναι ΑΒΕFM γρ. G

73 “*Η μὲν πρέσβευσις ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐστὶ ἀντιλογίαν*

Speech of an
Athenian envoy.
‘Do not be
misled: Athens
has not acted
unreasonably.

*τοῖς ὑμετέροις ξυμμάχοις ἐγένετο,
ἀλλὰ περὶ ὧν ἡ πόλις ἐπεμψεν·
αἰσθανόμενοι δὲ καταβοὴν οὐκ ὀλί-
γην οὖσαν ἡμῶν παρήλθομεν οὐ* 5

*τοῖς ἐγκλήμασι τῶν πόλεων ἀντεροῦντες (οὐ
γὰρ παρὰ δικασταῖς ὑμῖν οὔτε ἡμῶν οὔτε
τούτων οἱ λόγοι ἀν γίγνοιντο), ἀλλ’ ὅπως μὴ
ῥᾳδίως περὶ μεγάλων πραγμάτων τοῖς ξυμμάχοις
πειθόμενοι χεῖρον βουλεύσησθε, καὶ ἅμα 10
βουλόμενοι περὶ τοῦ παντὸς λόγου τοῦ ἐσ-
ἡμᾶς καθεστῶτος δηλῶσαι ώς οὔτε ἀπεικότως
ἔχομεν ἢ κεκτήμεθα, ἡ τε πόλις ἡμῶν ἀξία
λόγου ἔστιν.*

2 “*Καὶ τὰ μὲν πάνυ παλαιὰ τί δεῖ λέγειν,* 15

‘Remember the
services she has
rendered to you
in the Persian
wars.

*ἀν ἀκοαὶ μᾶλλον λόγων μάρτυρες
ἢ ὅψις τῶν ἀκουσμάτων; τὰ δὲ
Μηδικὰ καὶ ὅσα αὐτοὶ ξύνιστε, εἰ
καὶ δι’ ὄχλου μᾶλλον ἔσται αἰεὶ προβαλλο-
μένοις, ἀνάγκη λέγειν· καὶ γὰρ ὅτε ἐδρῶμεν, 20
ἐπ’ ὠφελίᾳ ἐκινδυνεύετο, ἡς τοῦ μὲν ἔργου
μέρος μετέσχετε, τοῦ δὲ λόγου μὴ παντός, εἴ
3 τι ὠφελεῖ, στερισκώμεθα. ῥήθήσεται δὲ οὐ
παραιτήσεως μᾶλλον ἔνεκα ἢ μαρτυρίου καὶ
δηλώσεως πρὸς οἴαν ὑμῖν πόλιν μὴ εὖ 25
4 βουλευομένοις ὁ ἀγὼν καταστήσεται. φαμὲν
γὰρ Μαραθῶνί τε μόνοι προκινδυνεῦσαι τῷ
βαρβάρῳ καὶ ὅτε τὸ ὕστερον ἤλθεν, οὐχ
ἴκανοὶ ὄντες κατὰ γῆν ἀμύνεσθαι, ἐσβάντες ἐσ-*

τὰς ναῦς πανδημεὶ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ξυνναυμαχῆσαι,
ὅπερ ἔσχε μὴ κατὰ πόλεις αὐτὸν ἐπιπλέοντα
τὴν Πελοπόννησον πορθεῖν, ἀδυνάτων ἀν ὄντων
πρὸς ναῦς πολλὰς ἀλλήλοις ἐπιβοηθεῖν.
5 τεκμήριον δὲ μέγιστον αὐτὸς ἐποίησεν· νικηθεὶς
γὰρ ταῖς ναυσὶν ως οὐκέτι αὐτῷ ὁμοίας οὔσης
τῆς δυνάμεως κατὰ τάχος τῷ πλέονι τοῦ
στρατοῦ ἀνεχώρησεν. τοιούτου μέντοι τούτου 74
ξυμβάντος, καὶ σαφῶς δηλωθέντος ὅτι ἐν ταῖς
10 ναυσὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὰ πράγματα ἐγένετο,
τρία τὰ ὡφελιμώτατα ἐς αὐτὸ παρεσχόμεθα,
ἀριθμόν τε νεῶν πλεῖστον καὶ ἄνδρα στρατηγὸν
ξυνετώτατον καὶ προθυμίαν ἀοκνοτάτην· ναῦς
μέν γε ἐς τὰς τετρακοσίας ὀλίγῳ ἐλάσσους
15 τῶν δύο μοιρῶν, Θεμιστοκλέα δὲ ἄρχοντα, ὃς
αἰτιώτατος ἐν τῷ στενῷ ναυμαχῆσαι ἐγένετο,
ὅπερ σαφέστατα ἔσωσε τὰ πράγματα καὶ αὐτὸν
διὰ τοῦτο ὑμεῖς ἐτιμήσατε μάλιστα δὴ ἄνδρα
ξένον τῶν ως ὑμᾶς ἐλθόντων· προθυμίαν 2
20 δὲ καὶ πολὺ τολμηροτάτην ἐδείξαμεν, οἵ γε,
ἐπειδὴ ἡμῖν κατὰ γῆν οὐδεὶς ἐβοήθει, τῶν
ἄλλων ἡδη μέχρι ἡμῶν δουλευόντων ἡξιώσαμεν
ἐκλιπόντες τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα διαφθεί-
ραντες μηδὲ ^{ῶς} τὸ τῶν περιλοίπων ξυμμάχων
25 κοινὸν προλιπεῖν μηδὲ σκεδασθέντες ἀχρεῖοι
αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐσβάντες ἐς τὰς ναῦς
κινδυνεῦσαι καὶ μὴ ὄργισθῆναι ὅτι ἡμῖν οὐ

8. ξυμβάντος τούτου ΑΒΕΦΜ

17. αὐτοὶ ΑΒΕΦΜ

15. τῶν G: οἰm. cett.

18. ὑμεῖς οἰm. ΑΒΕΦΜ[G] δὴ μάλιστα

ἐτιμήσατε ΑΒΕΦΜ[G]

3 προυτιμωρήσατε. ὥστε φαμὲν οὐχ ἡσσον
αὐτοὶ ὡφελῆσαι ὑμᾶς ἢ τυχεῖν τούτου. ὑμεῖς
μὲν γὰρ ἀπό τε οἰκουμένων τῶν πόλεων καὶ
ἐπὶ τῷ τὸ λοιπὸν νέμεσθαι, ἐπειδὴ ἐδείσατε
ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ οὐχ ἡμῶν τὸ πλέον, ἐβοηθήσατε 5
(ὅτε γοῦν ἡμεν ἔτι σῶοι, οὐ παρεγένεσθε).
ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀπό τε τῆς οὐκ οὕσης ἔτι ὄρμώμενοι
καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐν βραχείᾳ ἐλπίδι οὕσης κινδυ-
νεύοντες ξυνεσώσαμεν ὑμᾶς τε τὸ μέρος καὶ
4 ἡμᾶς αὐτούς. εἰ δὲ προσεχωρήσαμεν πρότερον 10
τῷ Μήδῳ δείσαντες, ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλοι, περὶ
τῇ χώρᾳ, ἢ μὴ ἐτολμήσαμεν ὕστερον ἐσβῆναι
ἔς τὰς ναῦς ὡς διεφθαρμένοι, οὐδὲν ἀν ἐδει
ἔτι ὑμᾶς μὴ ἔχοντας ναῦς ἵκανὰς ναυμαχεῖν,
ἄλλὰ καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἀν αὐτῷ προυχώρησε τὰ 15
πράγματα ἥ ἐβούλετο.

75 “Ἄρ, ἄξιοί ἐσμεν, ὡ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ
‘Her power was
fairly gained;
and when gained
she was bound
to maintain it. προθυμίας ἐνεκα τῆς τότε καὶ γνώ-
μης ξυνέσεως ἀρχῆς γε ἡς ἔχομεν
τοῖς Ἐλλησι μὴ οὕτως ἄγαν ἐπι- 20

2 φθόνως διακεῖσθαι; καὶ γὰρ αὐτὴν τήνδε
ἐλάβομεν οὐ βιασάμενοι, ἀλλ' ὑμῶν μὲν οὐκ
ἐθελησάντων παραμεῖναι πρὸς τὰ ὑπόλοιπα
τοῦ βαρβάρου, ἡμῖν δὲ προσελθόντων τῶν
ξυμμάχων καὶ αὐτῶν δεηθέντων ἡγεμόνας 25
3 καταστῆναι. ἐξ αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ ἔργου κατηναγκά-
σθημεν τὸ πρῶτον προαγαγεῖν αὐτὴν ἐς τόδε,
μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ δέους, ἐπειτα καὶ τιμῆς,

6. σῷ in Lexicis nonnullis scribitur 13. ἔτι ἐδει ABEFM
15. προσεχώρησε B Schol. 19. γε recc.: τε codd. 28. post
ἐπειτα add. δὲ ABEFM

ῦστερον καὶ ὠφελίας. καὶ οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἔτι 4
 ἐδόκει εἶναι τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀπηχθημένους, καὶ
 τινων καὶ ἡδη ἀποστάντων κατεστραμμένων,
 ὑμῶν τε ἡμῖν οὐκέτι ὁμοίως φίλων, ἀλλ᾽
 5 ὑπόπτων καὶ διαφόρων ὅντων, ἀνέντας κινδυ-
 νεύειν· καὶ γὰρ ἀν αἱ ἀποστάσεις πρὸς ὑμᾶς
 ἐγίγνοντο. πᾶσι δὲ ἀνεπίφθονον τὰ ξυμφέροντα 5
 τῶν μεγίστων πέρι κινδύνων εὖ τίθεσθαι.
 ὑμεῖς γοῦν, ὡ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τὰς 76
 10 ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεις ἐπὶ τὸ
 ὑμῖν ὠφέλιμον καταστησάμενοι
 ἐξηγεῖσθε· καὶ εἰ τότε ὑπομείναντες
 διὰ παντὸς ἀπήχθησθε ἐν τῇ
 ἥγεμονίᾳ, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς, εὖ ἴσμεν μὴ ἀν ἡσσον
 15 ὑμᾶς λυπηροὺς γενομένους τοῖς ξυμμάχοις καὶ
 ἀναγκασθέντας ἀν ἡ ἄρχειν ἐγκρατῶς ἡ αὐτοὺς
 κινδυνεύειν. οὕτως οὐδὲ ἡμεῖς θαυμαστὸν οὐδὲν 2
 πεποιήκαμεν οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρω-
 πείου τρόπου, εἰ ἀρχήν τε διδομένην
 20 ἐδεξάμεθα καὶ ταύτην μὴ ἀνεῖμεν
 ὑπὸ <τριῶν> τῶν μεγίστων νικη-
 θέντες, τιμῆς καὶ δέους καὶ ὠφελίας, οὐδὲ αὐ
 πρῶτοι τοῦ τοιούτου ὑπάρξαντες, ἀλλ᾽ αἱεὶ
 καθεστώτος τὸν ἡσσω ὑπὸ τοῦ δυνατωτέρου
 25 κατείργεσθαι, ἄξιοί τε ἄμα νομίζοντες εἶναι
 καὶ ὑμῖν δοκοῦντες μέχρι οὐ τὰ ξυμφέροντα
 λογιζόμενοι τῷ δικαίῳ λόγῳ νῦν χρῆσθε, δὲν

'Had Sparta
retained the
hegemony, she
would have
found it
necessary to
adopt similar
measures.'

'We have done
nothing unusual,
and we have
been moderate
in the use of our
power.'

οὐδείς πω παρατύχον ἴσχύι τι κτήσασθαι
 προθεὶς τοῦ μὴ πλέον ἔχειν ἀπετράπετο.
 3 ἐπαινεῖσθαι τε ἄξιοι οὕτινες χρησάμενοι τῇ
 ἀνθρωπείᾳ φύσει ὥστε ἐτέρων ἄρχειν δικαιό-
 τεροι ἡ κατὰ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν δύναμιν 5
 4 γένωνται. ἄλλους γ' ἀν οὖν οἰόμεθα τὰ
 ἡμέτερα λαβόντας δεῖξαι ἀν μάλιστα εἴ τι
 μετριάζομεν. ἡμῖν δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιεικοῦς
 ἀδοξίᾳ τὸ πλέον ἡ ἐπαινος οὐκ εἰκότως
 περιέστη. 10

77 “Καὶ ἐλασσούμενοι γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ξυμβολαίαις
 πρὸς τοὺς ξυμμάχους δίκαιοις καὶ
 παρ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις
 νόμοις ποιήσαντες τὰς κρίσεις φιλο-
 δικεῖν δοκοῦμεν. καὶ οὐδεὶς σκοπεῖ 15
 2 αὐτῶν τοῖς καὶ ἄλλοθί που ἄρχην ἔχουσι καὶ
 ἡσσον ἡμῶν πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους μετρίοις οὖσι
 διότι τοῦτο οὐκ ὀνειδίζεται. βιάζεσθαι γὰρ
 3 οἷς ἀν ἔξη, δικάζεσθαι οὐδὲν προσδέονται. οἱ
 δὲ εἰθισμένοι πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵσου ὁμιλεῖν, 20
 ἦν τι παρὰ τὸ μὴ οἰεσθαι χρῆναι ἡ γνώμη
 ἡ δυνάμει τῇ διὰ τὴν ἄρχην καὶ ὀπωσοῦν
 ἐλασσωθῶσιν, οὐ τοῦ πλέονος μὴ στερισκόμενοι
 χάριν ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐνδεοῦς χαλεπώτερον
 φέρουσιν ἡ εἰ ἀπὸ πρώτης ἀποθέμενοι τὸν 25
 νόμον φανερῶς ἐπλεονεκτοῦμεν. ἐκείνως δὲ
 οὐδ' ἀν αὐτοὶ ἀντέλεγον ὡς οὐ χρεὼν τὸν

6. γένωνται CG γρ. ABF: γεγένηνται cett. γρ. G 11. ξυμ-
 βολαιαίαι Hesych. 16. post που add. τὴν Μ || χουσιν ἄρχην
 CG

ἥσσω τῷ κρατοῦντι ὑποχωρεῖν. ἀδικούμενοί 4
τε, ὡς ἔοικεν, οἱ ἄνθρωποι μᾶλλον ὀργίζονται
ἡ βιαζόμενοι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵσου δοκεῖ
πλεονεκτεῖσθαι, τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ κρείστονος
5 καταναγκάζεσθαι. ὑπὸ γοῦν τοῦ Μήδου δεινό- 5
τερα τούτων πάσχοντες ἡνείχοντο,
ἡ δὲ ἡμετέρα ἀρχὴ χαλεπὴ δοκεῖ
εἶναι, εἰκότως· τὸ παρὸν γὰρ αἰεὶ<sup>But they
suffered worse
at the hands of
Persia.</sup>
βαρὺ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις. ὑμεῖς γ' ἀν οὖν εἰ 6
10 καθελόντες ἡμᾶς ἄρξαιτε, τάχα ἀν
τὴν εὔνοιαν ἦν διὰ τὸ ἡμέτερον δέος
εἰλήφατε μεταβάλοιτε, εἴπερ οἴα<sup>If you replaced
us, you would
soon excite
ill-feeling.</sup>
καὶ τότε πρὸς τὸν Μῆδον δι' ὀλίγου ἡγησά-
μενοι ὑπεδείξατε, ὁμοία καὶ νῦν γνώσεσθε.
15 ἄμεικτα γὰρ τά τε καθ' ὡμᾶς αὐτοὺς νόμιμα
τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔχετε καὶ προσέτι εἰς ἔκαστος
ἔξιὼν οὔτε τούτοις χρῆται οὐθ' οἷς ἡ ἄλλη
Ἐλλὰς νομίζει.

“Βουλεύεσθε οὖν βραδέως ὡς οὐ περὶ 78
20 βραχέων, καὶ μὴ ἄλλοτρίαις γνώμαις
καὶ ἐγκλήμασι πεισθέντες οἰκεῖον
πόνον πρόσθησθε. τοῦ δὲ πολέμου<sup>Think well and
long before you
decide to
embark on a
hazardous war.</sup>
τὸν παράλογον, ὃσος ἔστι, πρὶν ἐν αὐτῷ
γενέσθαι προδιάγνωτε· μηκυνόμενος γὰρ φιλεῖ 2
25 ἐς τύχας τὰ πολλὰ περιμένειςθαι, ὃν ἵσον τε
ἀπέχομέν καὶ ὅποτέρως ἔσται ἐν ἀδήλῳ κινδυ-
νεύεται. ιόντες τε οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐς τοὺς 3
πολέμους τῶν ἔργων πρότερον ἔχονται, ἣ χρῆν
ὑστερον δρᾶν, κακοπαθοῦντες δὲ ἥδη τῶν

4 λόγων ἄπτονται. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ πω τοιαύτη ἀμαρτίᾳ ὅντες οὕτ’ αὐτοὶ οὕθ’ ὑμᾶς ὄρωντες λέγομεν ὑμῖν, ἕως ἔτι αὐθαίρετος ἀμφοτέροις ἡ εὐβουλία, σπονδὰς μὴ λύειν μηδὲ παραβαίνειν τοὺς ὄρκους, τὰ δὲ διάφορα 5 δίκη λύεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ξυνθήκην. εἰ δὲ μή, θεοὺς τοὺς ὄρκίους μάρτυρας ποιούμενοι πειρασόμεθα ἀμύνεσθαι πολέμου ἄρχοντας ταύτη ἥ ἀν ὑφηγήσθε.”

79 Τοιαῦτα δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι εἶπον. ἐπειδὴ δὲ 10

The Spartans
now debated
among them-
selves, all
strangers having
withdrawn.
Speech of King
Archidamus.

τῶν τε ξυμμάχων ἥκουσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰ ἐγκλήματα τὰ ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἂ ἔλεξαν, μεταστησάμενοι πάντας ἐβουλεύοντο κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς περὶ 15

2 τῶν παρόντων. καὶ τῶν μὲν πλεόνων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ οἱ γυῶμαι ἔφερον, ἀδικεῖν τε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἥδη καὶ πολεμητέα εἶναι ἐν τάχει παρελθὼν δὲ Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν, ἀνὴρ καὶ ξυνετὸς δοκῶν εἶναι καὶ σώφρων, 20 ἔλεξε τοιάδε.

80 “Καὶ αὐτὸς πολλῶν ἥδη πολέμων ἔμπειρός

‘War with
Athens will be a
serious under-
taking.

είμι, ὡ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ ὑμῶν τοὺς ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἥλικιᾳ ὄρω, ὡστε μήτε ἀπειρίᾳ ἐπιθυμῆσαι τινα τοῦ 25

ἔργου, ὅπερ ἀν οἱ πολλοὶ πάθοιεν, μήτε 2 ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἀσφαλὲς νομίσαντα. εῦροιτε δ’ ἀν τόνδε περὶ οὐ νῦν βουλεύεσθε οὐκ ἀν ἐλάχιστον

6. εἰ δὲ μή ομ. C: ἥ cG
28. post τὸνδε add. τὸν πόλεμον CG

10. prius δὲ] μὲν cGM

γενόμενον, εἰ σωφρόνως τις αὐτὸν ἐκλογίζοιτο. πρὸς μὲν γὰρ Πελοποννησίους καὶ τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας παρόμοιος ἡμῶν ἡ ἀλκή, καὶ διὰ ταχέων οἰόν τε 5 ἐφ' ἔκαστα ἐλθεῖν· πρὸς δὲ ἄνδρας οἱ γῆν τε ἔκὰς ἔχουσι καὶ προσέτι θαλάσσης ἐμπειρότατοί εἰσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἄριστα ἔξήρτυνται, πλούτῳ τε 10 ἰδίῳ καὶ δημοσίῳ καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ ἵπποις καὶ 10 ὅπλοις καὶ ὅχλῳ ὅσος οὐκ ἐν ἄλλῳ ἐνί γε χωρίῳ Ἐλληνικῷ ἐστιν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ξυμμάχους πολλοὺς φόρου ὑποτελεῖς ἔχουσι, πῶς χρὴ πρὸς τούτους ῥᾳδίως πόλεμον ἄρασθαι καὶ τίνι πιστεύσαντας ἀπαρασκεύους ἐπειχθῆναι; πό- 15 τερον ταῖς ναυσίν; ἀλλ' ἡσσους ἐσμέν· εἰ δὲ 4 μελετήσομεν καὶ ἀντιπαρασκευασόμεθα, χρόνος ἐνέσται. ἀλλὰ τοῖς χρήμασιν; ἀλλὰ πολλῷ πλέον ἔτι τούτου ἐλλείπομεν καὶ οὔτε ἐν κοινῷ ἔχομεν οὔτε ἐτούμως ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων 20 φέρομεν. τάχ' ἀν τις θαρσοίη ὅτι τοῖς ὅπλοις 81 αὐτῶν καὶ τῷ πλήθει ὑπερφέρομεν, ὥστε τὴν γῆν δηοῦν ἐπιφοιτῶντες. τοῖς δὲ ἄλλῃ γῇ 2 ἐστι πολλὴ ἡς ἄρχουσι, καὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης ὡν δέονται ἐπάξονται. εἰ δ' αὖ τοὺς ξυμμάχους 3 25 ἀφιστάναι πειρασόμεθα, δεήσει καὶ τούτοις ναυσὶ βοηθεῖν τὸ πλέον οὖσι μησιώταις. τίς 4 οὖν ἐσται ἡμῶν ὁ πόλεμος; εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἡ ναυσὶ κρατήσομεν ἡ τὰς προσόδους ἀφαιρήσομεν ἀφ' ὧν τὸ

3
'We are ill prepared to face an enemy who lives at a distance, is the greatest naval power, and is in all respects better equipped than we.'

'We shall suffer much, and the war will last long.'

5 ναυτικὸν τρέφουσι, βλαψόμεθα τὰ πλείω. καν
τούτῳ οὐδὲ καταλύεσθαι ἔτι καλόν, ἄλλως τε
καὶ εἰ δόξομεν ἄρξαι μᾶλλον τῆς διαφορᾶς.
6 μὴ γὰρ δὴ ἐκείνη γε τῇ ἐλπίδι ἐπαιρώμεθα
ώς ταχὺ παυσθήσεται ὁ πόλεμος, ἦν τὴν γῆν⁵
αὐτῶν τέμωμεν. δέδοικα δὲ μᾶλλον μὴ καὶ
τοῖς παισὶν αὐτὸν ὑπολίπωμεν· οὕτως εἰκὸς
Ἀθηναίους φρονήματι μήτε τῇ γῇ δουλεῦσαι
μήτε ὥσπερ ἀπείρους καταπλαγῆναι τῷ
πολέμῳ.

82 “Οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἀναισθήτως αὐτοὺς κελεύω
 ‘My advice is to
negotiate with
Athens, and in
the meantime
to add to our
resources and
seek allies.

τούς τε ξυμμάχους ἡμῶν ἔαν
βλάπτειν καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντας μὴ
καταφωρᾶν, ἀλλὰ ὅπλα μὲν μήπω
κινεῖν, πέμπειν δὲ καὶ αἰτιᾶσθαι¹⁵
μήτε πόλεμον ἄγαν δηλοῦντας μήθ’ ὡς ἐπι-
τρέψομεν, καν τούτῳ καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερ’ αὐτῶν
ἐξαρτύεσθαι ξυμμάχων τε προσαγωγῇ καὶ
Ἐλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων, εἴ ποθέν τινα ἡ
ναυτικοῦ ἡ χρημάτων δύναμιν προσληφόμεθα²⁰
(ἀνεπίφθονον δέ, ὅσοι ὥσπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑπ’
Ἀθηναίων ἐπιβουλευόμεθα, μὴ “Ἐλληνας μόνον,
ἀλλὰ καὶ βαρβάρους προσλαβόντας διασω-
2 θῆναι), καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν ἅμα ἐκποριζώμεθα. καὶ
ἡν μὲν ἐσακούωσί τι πρεσβευομένων ἡμῶν,²⁵
ταῦτα ἄριστα. ἦν δὲ μή, διελθόντων ἐτῶν δύο
καὶ τριῶν ἅμεινον ἥδη, ἦν δοκῆ, πεφραγμένοι

6. τέμωμεν Cobet: τάμωμεν cod. 24. αὐτῶν F ?: αὐτῶν
cett. 25. ἐσακούσωσί ΑΕ: ἐπακοίσωσί G 26. post ἐτῶν
add. καὶ ΑΒΕΜ

ἴμεν ἐπ' αὐτούς. καὶ ἵσως ὄρῶντες ἡμῶν ἥδη 3
τὴν τε παρασκευὴν καὶ τοὺς λόγους αὐτῆς
όμοια ὑποσημαίνοντας μᾶλλον ἀν εἴκοιεν, καὶ
γῆν ἔτι ἄτμητον ἔχοντες καὶ περὶ παρόντων
5 ἀγαθῶν καὶ οὕπω ἐφθαρμένων βουλευόμενοι.
μὴ γὰρ ἄλλο τι νομίσητε τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ἡ 4
ὅμηρον ἔχειν καὶ οὐχ ἡσσον ὅσῳ ἄμεινον
ἔξειργασται· ἡς φείδεσθαι χρὴ ώς ἐπὶ
πλεῖστον, καὶ μὴ ἐς ἀπόνοιαν καταστήσαντας
10 αὐτοὺς ἀληπποτέρους ἔχειν. εἰ γὰρ ἀ- 5
παράσκευοι τοῖς τῶν ξυμμάχων ἐγκλήμασιν
ἐπειχθέντες τεμοῦμεν αὐτήν, ὄράτε ὅπως μὴ
αἰσχιον καὶ ἀπορώτερον τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ
πράξομεν. ἐγκλήματα μὲν γὰρ καὶ πόλεων 6
15 καὶ ἴδιωτῶν οἰόν τε καταλῦσαι· πόλεμον δὲ
ξύμπαντας ἀραμένους ἔνεκα τῶν ἴδιων, ὃν οὐχ
ὑπάρχει εἰδέναι καθ' ὃ τι χωρήσει, οὐ ράδιον
εὐπρεπῶς θέσθαι.

“Καὶ ἀνανδρία μηδενὶ πολλοὺς μιᾶς πόλει 83

20 μὴ ταχὺ ἐπελθεῖν δοκείτω εἶναι. εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐκείνοις οὐκ ἐλάσσους
χρήματα φέροντες ξύμμαχοι, καὶ
ἔστιν ὁ πόλεμος οὐχ ὅπλων τὸ
πλέον ἀλλὰ δαπάνης, δι' ἣν τὰ ὅπλα ὡφελεῖ,
25 ἄλλως τε καὶ ἡπειρώταις πρὸς θαλασσίους.
πορισώμεθα οὖν πρῶτον αὐτήν, καὶ μὴ τοῖς 3
τῶν ξυμμάχων λόγοις πρότερον ἐπαιρώμεθα,
οὕπερ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀποβαινόντων τὸ πλέον ἐπ'
ἀμφότερα τῆς αἰτίας ἔξομεν, οὗτοι καὶ καθ'

‘It is not cowardice to shrink from attacking a state so well equipped as Athens. 2

84 ἡσυχίαν τι αὐτῶν προϊδωμεν. καὶ τὸ βραδὺ
καὶ μέλλον, ὃ μέμφονται μάλιστα ἡμῶν, μὴ
'To our
characteristic
caution we owe
our glory.
αἰσχύνεσθε. σπεύδοντές τε γὰρ
σχολαίτερον ἀν παύσαισθε διὰ τὸ
ἀπαράσκευοι ἐγχειρεῖν, καὶ ἅμα 5
ἔλευθέραν καὶ εὐδοξοτάτην πόλιν διὰ παντὸς
2 νεμόμεθα. καὶ δύναται μάλιστα σωφροσύνη
ἔμφρων τοῦτ' εἶναι μόνοι γὰρ δι' αὐτὸ
εὐπραγίας τε οὐκ ἔξυβρίζομεν καὶ ξυμφοραῖς
ἡσσον ἐτέρων εἴκομεν. τῶν τε ξὺν ἐπαίνῳ 10
ἔξοτρυνόντων ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τὰ δεινὰ παρὰ τὸ
δοκοῦν ἡμῖν οὐκ ἐπαιρόμεθα ἡδονῇ, καὶ ἦν τις
ἄρα ξὺν κατηγορίᾳ παροξύνῃ, οὐδὲν δὴ μᾶλλον
3 ἀχθεσθέντες ἀνεπείσθημεν. πολεμικοί τε καὶ
εὐβουλοι διὰ τὸ εὔκοσμον. γιγνόμεθα, τὸ μὲν 15
ὅτι αἰδὼς σωφροσύνης πλεῖστον μετέχει,
αἰσχύνης δὲ εὐψυχία, εὐβουλοι δὲ ἀμαθέστερον
τῶν νόμων τῆς ὑπεροψίας παιδευόμενοι καὶ
ξὺν χαλεπότητι σωφρονέστερον ἡ ὥστε αὐτῶν
ἀνηκουστεῖν, καὶ μὴ τὰ ἀχρεῖα ξυνετοὶ ἄγαν 20
δύντες τὰς τῶν πολεμίων παρασκευὰς λόγῳ
καλῶς μεμφόμενοι ἀνομοίως ἔργῳ ἐπεξιέναι,
νομίζειν δὲ τάς τε διανοίας τῶν πέλας παρ-
πλησίους εἶναι καὶ τὰς προσπιπτούσας τύχας
4 οὐ λόγῳ διαιρετάς. αἰεὶ δὲ ὡς πρὸς εὖ 25
βουλευομένους τοὺς ἐναντίους ἔργῳ παρα-
σκευαζόμεθα· καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἐκείνων ὡς ἀμαρτησο-

4. παύσαισθε cGM: παύσησθε cett.
GM 13. δὴ cG: δὲ C: om. cett.
26. παρασκευαζόμεθα ABEFM

11. ἐποτρυνόντων
17. ἀμαθέστεροι CG

μένων ἔχειν δεῖ τὰς ἐλπίδας, ἀλλ' ὡς ἡμῶν
αὐτῶν ἀσφαλῶς προνοούμενων. πολύ τε
διαφέρειν οὐ δεῖ νομίζειν ἄνθρωπον ἀνθρώπου,
κράτιστον δὲ εἶναι ὅστις ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις
παιδεύεται.

“Ταύτας οὖν ἃς οἱ πατέρες τε ἡμῖν παρέ- 85
δοσαν μελέτας καὶ αὐτοὶ διὰ
παντὸς ὡφελούμενοι ἔχομεν μὴ
παρῶμεν, μηδὲ ἐπειχθέντες ἐν
10 βραχεῖ μορίῳ ἡμέρας περὶ πολλῶν
σωμάτων καὶ χρημάτων καὶ πόλεων καὶ δόξης
βουλεύσωμεν, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἡσυχίαν. ἔξεστι δ'
ἡμῖν μᾶλλον ἔτέρων διὰ ἵσχύν. καὶ πρὸς 2
τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πέμπετε μὲν περὶ τῆς
15 Ποτειδαίας, πέμπετε δὲ περὶ ὧν οἱ ξύμμαχοί
φασιν ἀδικεῖσθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐτοίμων ὅντων
αὐτῶν δίκας δοῦναι. ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν διδόντα οὐ
πρότερον νόμιμον ὡς ἐπ' ἀδικοῦντα ἴέναι.
παρασκευάζεσθε δὲ τὸν πόλεμον ἄμα. ταῦτα
20 γὰρ καὶ κράτιστα βουλεύσεσθε καὶ τοῖς
ἐναντίοις φοβερώτατα.” καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀρχίδαμος 3
τοιαῦτα εἶπεν· παρελθὼν δὲ Σθενελαΐδας
τελευταῖος, εἰς τῶν ἐφόρων τότε ὡν, ἔλεξεν
[τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις] ὡδε.

25 “Τοὺς μὲν λόγους τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν 86
Ἀθηναίων οὐ γιγνώσκω· ἐπαινέ- Speech of
Sthenelaidas.
‘We must not
stand by and
see our allies
σαντες γὰρ πολλὰ ἔαυτοὺς οὐδαμοῦ
ἀντεῖπον ὡς οὐκ ἀδικοῦσι τοὺς

20. prius καὶ om. ΑΒΕΦΜ[G] 23. post Ελεξεν add. ἐν
ΑΒΕΦΜ 24. τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις secl. Krüger

injured : our
strength is in
them.

ἡμετέρους ξυμμάχους καὶ τὴν
Πελοπόννησον· καίτοι εἰ πρὸς τοὺς

Μήδους ἐγένοντο ἀγαθοὶ τότε, πρὸς δὲ ἡμᾶς
κακοὶ νῦν, διπλασίας ζημίας ἄξιοι εἰσιν, ὅτι
2 ἀντ’ ἀγαθῶν κακοὶ γεγένηνται. ἡμεῖς δὲ 5
όμοιοι καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν ἐσμεν, καὶ τοὺς
ξυμμάχους, ἣν σωφρονῶμεν, οὐ περιοψόμεθα
ἀδικουμένους οὐδὲ μελλήσομεν τιμωρεῖν. οἱ δὲ
3 οὐκέτι μέλλουσι κακῶς πάσχειν. ἄλλοις μὲν
γὰρ χρήματά ἔστι πολλὰ καὶ νῆες καὶ ἵπποι, 10
ἡμῖν δὲ ξύμμαχοι ἀγαθοί, οὓς οὐ παραδοτέα
τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἔστιν, οὐδὲ δίκαιοις καὶ λόγοις
διακριτέα μὴ λόγω καὶ αὐτοὺς βλαπτομένους,
ἀλλὰ τιμωρητέα ἐν τάχει καὶ παντὶ σθένει.
4 καὶ ως ἡμᾶς πρέπει βουλεύεσθαι ἀδικουμένους 15
μηδεὶς διδασκέτω, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μέλλοντας ἀδικεῖν
μᾶλλον πρέπει πολὺν χρόνον βουλεύεσθαι.
5 Ψηφίζεσθε οὖν, ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἀξίως τῆς
Σπάρτης τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ μήτε
τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἔτει μείζους γίγνε- 20
σθαι μήτε τοὺς ξυμμάχους καταπροδιδώμεν,
ἀλλὰ ξὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπίωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς
ἀδικοῦντας.”

87 Τοιαῦτα λέξας ἐπεψήφιζεν αὐτὸς ἔφορος
2 A division was
then taken, and
the majority
were for war.
25 ὧν ἐσ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῶν Λακεδαι-
μονίων. ὁ δὲ (κρίνουσι γὰρ βοῆ
καὶ οὐ ψήφῳ) οὐκ ἔφη διαγιγνώ-
σκειν τὴν βοῆν ὅποτέρα μείζων, ἀλλὰ

10. πολλὰ om. CG
τοιαῦτα add. δὲ ABEFM

22. ἐπὶ] πρὸς ABEFM
28. ποτέρα CG

24. post

βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς φανερῶς ἀποδεικνυμένους τὴν γνώμην ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν μᾶλλον ὄρμῆσαι ἔλεξεν “ὅτῳ μὲν ὑμῶν, ὡ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, δοκοῦσι λελύσθαι αἱ σπονδαὶ καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀδικεῖν, ἀναστήτω ἐς ἐκεῖνο τὸ χωρίον,” δείξας τι χωρίον αὐτοῖς, “ὅτῳ δὲ μὴ δοκοῦσιν, ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα.” ἀναστάντες δὲ διέστησαν,³ καὶ πολλῷ πλείους ἐγένοντο οἱς ἐδόκουν αἱ σπονδαὶ λελύσθαι. προσκαλέσαντές τε τοὺς⁴

10 ξυμμάχους εἰπον ὅτι σφίσι μὲν δοκοῦεν ἀδικεῖν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, βούλεσθαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς πάντας ξυμμάχους παρακαλέσαντες ψῆφον ἐπαγαγεῖν, ὅπως κοινῇ βούλευσάμενοι τὸν πόλεμον ποιῶνται, ἦν δοκῆ. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπεχώρησαν⁵

15 ἐπ’ οἴκου διαπραξάμενοι ταῦτα, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεις ὕστερον ἐφ’ ἄπερ ἥλθον χρηματίσαντες· ἡ δὲ διαγνώμη αὗτη τῆς⁶ ἐκκλησίας, τοῦ τὰς σπονδὰς λελύσθαι, ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ ἔτει τῶν τρια-

20 κοντουτίδων σπονδῶν προκεχωρηκιών, αἱ ἐγένοντο μετὰ τὰ Εύβοϊκά. ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ⁸⁸

οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰς σπονδὰς λελύσθαι καὶ πολεμητέα εἰναι οὐ τοσοῦτον τῶν ξυμμάχων πεισθέντες

25 τοῖς λόγοις ὅσον φοβούμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους μὴ ἐπὶ μεῖζον δυνηθῶσιν, ὄρωντες αὐτοῖς τὰ πολλὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑποχείρια ἥδη ὄντα.

It was not so much the request of the allies as the fear of Athenian power that influenced Sparta.

89 Οἱ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι τρόπῳ τοιῷδε ἥλθον ἐπὶ

cc. 89-118, the
2 πεντηκονταετία,
a sketch of the
origin and
progress of
Athenian power
between the
Persian retreat
and the Pel.
war.

τὰ πράγματα ἐν οἷς ηὔξηθησαν. ἐπειδὴ Μῆδοι ἀνεχώρησαν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης νικηθέντες καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῷ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων καὶ οἱ κατα- 5 φυγόντες αὐτῶν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐσ-
Μυκάλην διεφθάρησαν, Λεωτυχίδης

μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ὅσπερ ἥγεντο τῶν ἐν Μυκάλῃ Ἑλλήνων, ἀπεχώρησεν ἐπ’ οἴκου ἔχων τοὺς ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου 10 ἔνυμμάχους, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ Ἰωνίας καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου ἔνυμμάχοι ἥδη ἀφεστηκότες ἀπὸ βασιλέως ὑπομείναντες Σηστὸν ἐποιόρκουν Μήδων ἔχόντων, καὶ ἐπιχειμάσαντες εἶλον αὐτὴν ἐκλιπόντων τῶν βαρβάρων, καὶ μετὰ 15 τοῦτο ἀπέπλευσαν ἐξ Ἑλλησπόντου ώς ἔκαστοι 3 κατὰ πόλεις. Ἀθηναίων δὲ τὸ κοινόν, ἐπειδὴ

The Athenians
after the defeat
of Mardonius
rebuilt their
walls and
enlarged the
city, despite the
objections of
Sparta. This
was done under
the advice of
Themistocles,
who outwitted
the Spartans.

αὐτοῖς οἱ βάρβαροι ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπῆλθον, διεκομίζοντο εὐθὺς ὅθεν ὑπεξέθεντο παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας 20 καὶ τὴν περιούσαν κατασκευήν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνοικοδομεῖν παρεσκευάζοντο καὶ τὰ τείχη τοῦ τε γὰρ περιβόλου βραχέα είστηκει καὶ οἰκίαι αἱ μὲν πολλαὶ ἐπεπτώκεσαν, 25

οὐλίγαιι δὲ περιῆσαν, ἐν αἷς αὐτοὶ ἐσκήνωσαν οἱ δυνατοὶ τῶν Περσῶν.

90 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ αἰσθόμενοι τὸ μέλλον

ἡλθον πρεσβείᾳ, τὰ μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἥδιον ἀνόρωντες μήτ' ἐκείνους μήτ' ἄλλον μηδένα τεῖχος ἔχοντα, τὸ δὲ πλέον τῶν ξυμμάχων ἔξοτρυνόντων καὶ φοβουμένων τοῦ τε ναυτικοῦ αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος, ὃ πρὶν οὐχ ὑπῆρχε, καὶ τὴν ἐς τὸν Μηδικὸν πόλεμον τόλμαν γενομένην. ἡξίουν τε αὐτοὺς μὴ τειχίζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν 2 ἔξω Πελοποννήσου μᾶλλον δοσοις εἰστήκει ξυγκαθελεῖν μετὰ σφῶν τοὺς περιβόλους, τὸ 10 μὲν βουλόμενον καὶ ὑποπτον τῆς γνώμης οὐ δηλοῦντες ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὡς δὲ τοῦ βαρβάρου, εἰ αὐθις ἐπέλθοι, οὐκ ἀν ἔχοντος ἀπὸ ἔχυροῦ ποθεν, ὥσπερ νῦν ἐκ τῶν Θηβῶν, ὀρμᾶσθαι· τήν τε Πελοπόννησον πᾶσιν ἔφασαν 15 ἀναχώρησίν τε καὶ ἀφορμὴν ἰκανὴν εἶναι. οἱ 3 δ' Ἀθηναῖοι Θεμιστοκλέους γνώμη τοὺς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους ταῦτ' εἰπόντας, ἀποκρινάμενοι ὅτι πέμψουσιν ως αὐτοὺς πρέσβεις περὶ ὧν λέγουσιν εὐθὺς ἀπίγλαξαν· ἑαυτὸν δ' ἐκέλευνεν 20 ἀποστέλλειν ως τάχιστα ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, ἄλλους δὲ πρὸς ἑαυτῷ ἐλομένους πρέσβεις μὴ εὐθὺς ἐκπέμπειν, ἀλλ' ἐπισχεῖν μέχρι τοσούτου ἔως ἀν τὸ τεῖχος ἰκανὸν ἄρωσιν ὥστε ἀπομάχεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ 25 ἀναγκαιοτάτου ὑψούς· τειχίζειν δὲ πάντας πανδημεὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει [καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ γυναικας καὶ παιδας], φειδομένους μήτε ἴδιου

1. πρεσβείαν ΑC: ἐς πρεσβείαν cG Schol. 8. εἰστήκει C: ξυν-(συν-)εἰστήκει cett. 14. post ἔφασαν habent ἰκανὴν εἶναι ΑΒΕΓ: εἶναι ἰκανὴν Μ [G] 24. ἄρωσιν Bekker: αἴρωσιν codd. 26. καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ γυναικας καὶ παιδας non legit Schol.

μήτε δημοσίου οἰκοδομήματος ὅθεν τις ὡφελία
 ἔσται ἐς τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλὰ καθαιροῦντας πάντα.
 4 καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα διδάξας καὶ ὑπειπὼν τâλλα
 5 ὅτι αὐτὸς τάκει πράξοι φχετο. καὶ ἐς τὴν
 Λακεδαιμονα ἐλθὼν οὐ προσήει πρὸς τὰς 5
 ἀρχάς, ἀλλὰ διῆγε καὶ προυφασίζετο. καὶ
 ὅπότε τις αὐτὸν ἔροιτο τῶν ἐν τέλει ὅντων
 ὅτι οὐκ ἐπέρχεται ἐπὶ τὸ κοινόν, ἔφη τοὺς
 ξυμπρέσβεις ἀναμένειν, ἀσχολίας δέ τινος
 οὕσης αὐτοὺς ὑπολειφθῆναι, προσδέχεσθαι 10
 μέντοι ἐν τάχει ἥξειν καὶ θαυμάζειν ὡς οὕπω
 91 πάρεισιν. οἱ δὲ ἀκούοντες τῷ μὲν Θεμιστοκλεῖ
 ἐπείθοντο διὰ φιλίαν αὐτοῦ, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων
 ἀφικνουμένων καὶ σαφῶς κατηγορούντων ὅτι
 τειχίζεται τε καὶ ἥδη ὕψος λαμβάνει, οὐκ 15
 2 εἶχον ὅπως χρὴ ἀπιστῆσαι. γνοὺς δὲ ἐκεῦνος
 κελεύει αὐτοὺς μὴ λόγοις μᾶλλον παράγεσθαι ἢ
 πέμψαι σφῶν αὐτῶν ἄνδρας οἵτινες χρηστοὶ καὶ
 3 πιστῶς ἀναγγελοῦσι σκεψάμενοι. ἀποστέλ-
 λουσιν οὖν, καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς 20
 τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις κρύφα πέμπει κελεύων ὡς
 ἥκιστα ἐπιφανῶς κατασχεῖν καὶ μὴ ἀφεῖναι
 πρὶν ἀν αὐτοὶ πάλιν κομισθῶσιν (ἥδη γὰρ
 καὶ ἥκον αὐτῷ οἱ ξυμπρέσβεις, Ἀβράνιχός τε
 ὁ Λυσικλέους καὶ Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου,
 25 ἀγγέλλοντες ἔχειν ἵκανῶς τὸ τεῦχος), ἐφοβεῖτο
 γὰρ μὴ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι σφᾶς, ὅπότε σαφῶς
 4 ἀκούσειαν, οὐκέτι ἀφῶσιν. οἵ τε οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι
 τοὺς πρέσβεις, ὕσπερ ἐπεστάλη, κατεῖχον, καὶ

ό Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπελθὼν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐνταῦθα δὴ φανερῶς εἶπεν ὅτι ἡ μὲν πόλις σφῶν τετείχισται ἥδη ὥστε ίκανὴ εἶναι σώζειν τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, εἰ δέ τι βούλονται Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἡ οἱ ξύμμαχοι πρεσβεύεσθαι παρὰ σφᾶς, ὡς πρὸς διαγυγνώσκοντας τὸ λοιπὸν ιέναι τά τε σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ξύμφορα καὶ τὰ κοινά. τήν τε γὰρ πόλιν ὅτε ἐδόκει ἐκλιπεῖν ⁵ ἄμεινον εἶναι καὶ ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐσβῆναι, ἀνευ ¹⁰ ἐκείνων ἔφασαν γνόντες τολμῆσαι, καὶ ὅσα αὐτὸν ἐκείνων βουλεύεσθαι, οὐδενὸς ¹⁵ ὑστεροι γνωμῇ φανῆναι. δοκεῖν οὖν σφίσι καὶ τῦν ⁶ ἄμεινον εἶναι τὴν ἑαυτῶν πόλιν τεῖχος ἔχειν, καὶ ⁷ ίδιᾳ τοῖς πολίταις καὶ ἐς τοὺς πάντας ¹⁵ ξυμμάχους ὠφελιμώτερον ἔσεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ τὸ οἶον τὸ εἶναι μὴ ἀπὸ ἀντιπάλου παρασκευῆς ὁμοιόν τι ἡ ⁸ ἵστον ἐς τὸ κοινὸν βουλεύεσθαι. ἡ πάντας οὖν ἀτειχίστους ἔφη χρῆναι ξυμμαχεῖν ⁹ ἡ καὶ τάδε νομίζειν ὄρθως ἔχειν. οἱ δὲ ²⁰ 92 Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀκούσαντες ὄργην μὲν φανερὰν οὐκ ἐποιοῦντο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ κωλύμῃ, ἀλλὰ γνώμης παραινέσει δῆθεν τῷ κοινῷ ἐπρεσβεύσαντο, ἅμα δὲ καὶ προσφιλεῖς δύντες ἐν τῷ τότε διὰ τὴν ἐς τὸν Μῆδον ²⁵ προθυμίαν τὰ μάλιστ’ αὐτοῖς ἐτύγχανον), τῆς μέντοι βουλήσεως ἀμαρτάνοντες ἀδήλως ἤχθουντο. οἱ τε πρέσβεις ἐκατέρων ἀπῆλθον ἐπ’ οἴκου ἀνεπικλήτως.

1. ὁ om. ABEFM

3. σφῶν] αὐτῶν CG 4. post
ἐνοικοῦντας add. ἐν αὐτῇ CG 6. προδιαγει(γ)νώσκοντας BGM

11. ὑστεροι sg: ὑστερον codd.

93 Τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν πόλιν
 2 ἐτείχισαν ἐν δλίγῳ χρόνῳ. καὶ δήλη ἡ οἰκοδομία ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἔστιν ὅτι κατὰ σπουδὴν
 ἐγένετο· οἱ γὰρ θεμέλιοι παντοίων λίθων ὑπόκεινται καὶ οὐ ξυνειργασμένων ἔστιν ἡ, ἀλλ' 5
 ὡς ἔκαστόν ποτε προσέφερον, πολλαὶ τε στῆλαι
 ἀπὸ σημάτων καὶ λίθοι εἰργασμένοι ἐγκατελέγησαν· μείζων γὰρ ὁ περίβολος πανταχῇ
 ἔξήχθη τῆς πόλεως, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πάντα
 3 ὅμοιώς κινοῦντες ἡπείγοντο. ἔπεισε δὲ καὶ τοῦ 10

He also per-
 suaded the A. to
 fortify the
 Piraeus, and
 insisted on the
 paramount
 importance of
 the harbours
 and the fleet.

Πειραιῶς τὰ λοιπὰ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς
 οἰκοδομεῦν (ὑπῆρκτο δ' αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἀρχῆς ἡς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν Ἀθηναίοις ἡρξε) νομίζων
 τό τε χωρίον καλὸν εἶναι, λιμένας 15
 ἔχον τρεῖς αὐτοφύεῖς, καὶ αὐτοὺς ναυτικοὺς
 γεγενημένους μέγα προφέρειν ἐς τὸ κτήσασθαι
 4 δύναμιν (τῆς γὰρ δὴ θαλάσσης πρῶτος ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν ὡς ἀνθεκτέα ἔστι), καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν
 5 εὐθὺς ξυγκατεσκεύαζεν. καὶ ὡκοδόμησαν τῇ 20
 ἐκείνου γνώμῃ τὸ πάχος τοῦ τείχους ὅπερ νῦν
 ἔτι δῆλόν ἐστι περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ. δύο γὰρ
 ἄμαξαι ἐναντίαι ἀλλήλαις τοὺς λίθους ἐπῆγον.
 ἐντὸς δὲ οὕτε χάλιξ οὕτε πηλὸς ἡν, ἀλλὰ
 25 ξυνφοδομημένοι μεγάλοι λίθοι καὶ ἐντομῇ
 ἐγγώνιοι, σιδήρῳ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὰ ἔξωθεν
 καὶ μολύβδῳ δεδεμένοι. τὸ δὲ ὑψος ἡμισυ
 6 μάλιστα ἐτελέσθη οὐ διενοεῖτο. ἐβούλετο γὰρ
 τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῷ πάχει ἀφιστάναι τὰς τῶν

πολεμίων επιβουλάς, ἀνθρώπων τε ἐνόμιζεν
δλίγων καὶ τῶν ἀχρειοτάτων ἀρκέσειν τὴν
φυλακήν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐσβήσε-
σθαι. ταῖς γὰρ ναυσὶ μάλιστα προσέκειτο, ἵδων, 7
5 ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, τῆς βασιλέως στρατιᾶς τὴν
κατὰ θάλασσαν ἔφοδον εὐπορωτέραν τῆς κατὰ
γῆν οὖσαν. τόν τε Πειραιᾶ ὀφελιμώτερον
ἐνόμιζε τῆς ἀνω πόλεως, καὶ πολλάκις τοῖς
10 Ἀθηναίοις παρήνει, ἦν ἄρα ποτὲ κατὰ γῆν
βιασθῶσι, καταβάντας ἐς αὐτὸν ταῖς ναυσὶ⁸
πρὸς ἄπαντας ἀνθίστασθαι. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὖν
οὕτως ἐτειχίσθησαν καὶ τάλλα κατεσκευάζοντο
εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν Μήδων ἀναχώρησιν.

Παυσανίας δὲ ὁ Κλεομβρότου ἐκ Λακε- 94
15 δαιμονος στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐξεπέμφθη
μετὰ εἴκοσι νεῶν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου. ξυνέπλεον
δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τριάκοντα ναυσὶ καὶ τῶν
ἄλλων ξυμμάχων πλῆθος. καὶ ἐστράτευσαν ἐς 2
Κύπρον καὶ αὐτῆς τὰ πολλὰ κατεστρέψαντο,
20 καὶ ὕστερον ἐς Βυζάντιον Μήδων ἔχόντων, καὶ
ἐξεπολιόρκησαν ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ. ἥδη δὲ 95
βιαίου ὅντος αὐτοῦ οἴ τε ἄλλοι
"Ἐλληνες ἥχθοντο καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα
οἱ" Ιωνες καὶ ὅσοι ἀπὸ βασιλέως
25 νεωστὶ ἥλευθέρωντο. φοιτῶντές τε
πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἥξιον αὐτοὺς
ἥγεμόνας σφῶν γίγνεσθαι κατὰ τὸ

The unpopularity
of Pausanias
causes the
Greeks, who had
thrown off the
Persian yoke, to
choose the
Athenians as
leaders of the
confederacy.

1. ἐπιβολὰς Herwerden (ἐπιθέσεις interpretatur Schol.)
21. verba ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ cum sequentibus coniungit
Stephanus, qui δὲ seclusit || δὲ post τῇδε transp. Hude (tentavit
Poppo) 27. γενέσθαι ABEFM[G]

ξυγγενὲς καὶ Παυσανίᾳ μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν, ἦν που
 2 βιάζηται. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐδέξαντό τε τοὺς
 λόγους καὶ προσεῦχον τὴν γυνώμην ὡς οὐ περι-
 οψόμενοι τάλλα τε καταστησόμενοι ἦ φαίνοιτο
 3 ἄριστα αὐτοῖς. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι 5
 μετεπέμποντο Παυσανίαν ἀνακρινοῦντες ὡν πέρι
 ἐπινυθάνοντο· καὶ γὰρ ἀδικία πολλὴ κατη-
 γορεῖτο αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἀφικνου-
 μένων, καὶ τυραννίδος μᾶλλον ἐφαίνετο μίμησις
 4 ἦ στρατηγία. ξυνέβη τε αὐτῷ καλεῖσθαι τε 10
 ἄμα καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους τῷ ἐκείνου ἔχθει
 παρ' Ἀθηναίους μετατάξασθαι πλὴν τῶν ἀπὸ
 5 Πελοποννήσου στρατιωτῶν. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς Λακε-
 δαιμονια τῶν μὲν ἴδιᾳ πρός τινα ἀδικημάτων
 ηὐθύνθη, τὰ δὲ μέγιστα ἀπολύεται μὴ ἀδικεῖν. 15
 κατηγορεῖτο δὲ αὐτοῦ οὐχ ἥκιστα μηδισμὸς καὶ
 6 ἐδόκει σαφέστατον εἶναι. καὶ ἐκείνον μὲν οὐκέτι
 ἐκπέμπουσιν ἄρχοντα, Δόρκιν δὲ καὶ ἄλλους
 τινὰς μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατιὰν ἔχοντας οὐ πολλήν·
 οῖς οὐκέτι ἐφίεσαν οἱ ξύμμαχοι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. 20
 7 οἱ δὲ αἰσθόμενοι ἀπῆλθον, καὶ ἄλλους οὐκέτι
 ὕστερον ἐξέπεμψαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, φοβού-
 μενοι μὴ σφίσιν οἱ ἐξιόντες χείρους γίγνωνται,
 ὅπερ καὶ ἐν τῷ Παυσανίᾳ ἐνεῖδον, ἀπαλλα-
 ἔειοντες δὲ καὶ τοῦ Μηδικοῦ πολέμου καὶ τοὺς 25
 Ἀθηναίους νομίζοντες ἱκανοὺς ἐξηγεῖσθαι καὶ
 σφίσιν ἐν τῷ τότε παρόντι ἐπιτηδείους.

96 Παραλαβόντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν

4. καταστησόμενοι Stephani codices: καταστησάμενοι codd.
 [G] 14. τινας Classen

τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἐκόντων τῶν ξυμμάχων διὰ
τὸ Παυσανίου μῆσος, ἔταξαν ἃς
τε ἔδει παρέχειν τῶν πόλεων χρή-
ματα πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον καὶ ἃς ναῦς· πρόσ-
χημα γὰρ ἦν ἀμύνεσθαι ὡν ἐπαθον δηοῦντας
τὴν βασιλέως χώραν. καὶ Ἐλληνοταμίαι τότε 2
πρῶτον Ἀθηναίοις κατέστη ἀρχή, οἱ ἔδέχοντο
τὸν φόρον· οὕτω γὰρ ὠνομάσθη τῶν χρημάτων
ἡ φορά. ἦν δὲ ὁ πρῶτος φόρος ταχθεὶς τετρα-
κόσια τάλαντα καὶ ἔξηκοντα. ταμιεῖον τε
Δῆλος ἦν αὐτοῖς, καὶ αἱ ξύνοδοι ἦσαν τὸ ιερὸν
ἐγίγνοντο. ἡγούμενοι δὲ αὐτονόμων τὸ πρῶτον 97
τῶν ξυμμάχων καὶ ἀπὸ κοινῶν
ξυνόδων βουλευόντων τοσάδε ἐπῆλθον
15 πολέμῳ τε καὶ διαχειρίσει πρα-
γμάτων μεταξὺ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου
καὶ τοῦ Μηδικοῦ, ἀλλὰ ἐγένετο πρός
τε τὸν βάρβαρον αὐτοῖς καὶ πρὸς
τοὺς σφετέρους ξυμμάχους νεωτερίζοντας καὶ
20 Πελοποννησίων τοὺς αἰεὶ προστυγχάροντας ἐν
ἐκάστῳ. ἔγραψα δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ τὴν ἐκβολὴν 2
τοῦ λόγου ἐποιησάμην διὰ τόδε, ὅτι τοῖς πρὸ
έμοι ἀπασιν ἐκλιπὲς τοῦτο ἦν τὸ χωρίον καὶ
ἡ τὰ πρὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν Ἐλληνικὰ ξυνετίθεσαν
25 ἦν αὐτὰ τὰ Μηδικά· τούτων δὲ ὅσπερ καὶ
ῆψατο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ξυγγραφῇ Ἐλλάνικος,
βραχέως τε καὶ τοῖς χρόνοις οὐκ ἀκριβῶς
ἐπεμνήσθη. ἀμα δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπόδειξιν
ἔχει τῆς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν οἴφῳ τρόπῳ κατέστη.

Organisation
of the Delian
League.

What ensued
has been
neglected by
previous
historians: so
there is need
to sketch the
events by which
the hegemony
was transformed
into an empire.

98 Πρῶτον μὲν Ἡιόνα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι Μήδων
 Capture of Eion
 on the Strymon,
 reduction of
 Seyrus and
 2 Carystus.
 ἔχόντων πολιορκίᾳ εἶλον καὶ ἡνδρα-
 πόδισαν, Κίμωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδου
 στρατηγοῦντος. ἔπειτα Σκύρου τὴν
 ἐν τῷ Αἰγαίῳ νῆσον, ἦν ὥκουν Δόλοπες, ἡνδρα-
 5 πόδισαν καὶ ὥκισαν αὐτοί. πρὸς δὲ Καρυ-
 στίους αὐτοῖς ἄνευ τῶν ἄλλων Εὐβόεων πόλεμος
 ἐγένετο, καὶ χρόνῳ ξυνέβησαν καθ' ὄμολογίαν.

4 Revolt and
 subjugation of
 Naxos, which
 receives harsh
 treatment.
 Ναξίοις δὲ ἀποστάσι μετὰ ταῦτα
 ἐπολέμησαν καὶ πολιορκίᾳ παρεστή-
 10 σαντο, πρώτη τε αὕτη πόλις ξυμ-
 μαχὶς παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς ἐδουλώθη, ἔπειτα

99 δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὡς ἔκάστη ξυνέβη. αἰτίαι
 Athens became
 oppressive and
 unpopular
 among her allies,
 who were
 allowed to com-
 pound for
 personal service
 by money; and
 this enabled
 Athens to keep
 them in sub-
 jection.
 δὲ ἄλλαι τε ἥσαν τῶν ἀποστάσεων
 καὶ μέγισται αἱ τῶν φόρων καὶ 15
 νεῶν ἔκδειαι καὶ λιποστράτιον εἴ
 τῷ ἐγένετο· οἱ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀκρι-
 βῶς ἔπρασσον καὶ λυπηροὶ ἥσαν
 οὐκ εἰωθόσιν οὐδὲ βουλομένοις
 ταλαιπωρεῖν προσάγοντες τὰς ἀνά-
 20

2 γκας. ἥσαν δέ πως καὶ ἄλλως οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι
 οὐκέτι ὁμοίως ἐν ἥδονῇ ἄρχοντες, καὶ οὔτε
 ξυνεστράτευον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵσου ράδιον τε προσ-
 ἀγεσθαι ἦν αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἀφίσταμένους. ὅν
 3 αὐτοὶ αἰτιοὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ ξύμμαχοι. διὰ γὰρ 25
 τὴν ἀπόκνησιν ταύτην τῶν στρατειῶν οἱ πλείους
 αὐτῶν, ἵνα μὴ ἀπ' οἴκου ὡσι, χρήματα ἐτά-
 ξαντο ἀντὶ τῶν νεῶν τὸ ἰκνούμενον ἀνάλωμα

13. ἔκάστη A: ἔκάστη cett. [G] || ξυνέβη secl. Krüger
 20. προσαγαγόντες ABEF[G]

φέρειν, καὶ τοῖς μὲν Ἀθηναίοις ηὔξετο τὸ ναυτικὸν ἀπὸ τῆς δαπάνης ἣν ἐκεῖνοι ξυμφέροιεν, αὐτοὶ δέ, ὅπότε ἀποσταῖεν, ἀπαράσκευοι καὶ ἄπειροι ἦσαν τὸν πόλεμον καθίσταντο.

Ἐγένετο δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἡ ἐπ' Εὐρυμέδοντι ποταμῷ ἐν Παμφυλίᾳ πεζομαχία καὶ ναυμαχία Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων πρὸς Μήδους, καὶ ἐνίκων 10 τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀμφότερα Ἀθηναῖοι Κίμωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδου στρατηγοῦντος, καὶ εἰλον τριήρεις Φοινίκων καὶ διέφθειραν τὰς πάσας ἐν διακοσίας. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ξυνέβη 2 Θασίους αὐτῶν ἀποστῆναι, διενεχθέντας περὶ 15 τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρᾳ Θράκη ἐμπορίων καὶ τοῦ μετάλλου ἢ ἐνέμοντο. καὶ ναυσὶ μὲν ἐπὶ Θάσον πλεύσαντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ναυμαχίᾳ ἐκράτησαν καὶ ἐν τῇν γῆν ἀπέβησαν, ἐπὶ δὲ 3 Στρυμόνα πέμψαντες μυρίους οἰκήτορας αὐτῶν 20 καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων ὑπὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους ώς οἰκιοῦντες τὰς τότε καλουμένας Ἐννέα ὁδούς, νῦν δὲ Revolt of Θασος. Athenian disaster at Drabescus. Ἀμφίπολιν, τῶν μὲν Ἐννέα ὁδῶν αὐτοὶ ἐκράτησαν, ἀστιχον Ἡδωνοί, προελθόντες δὲ 25 τῆς Θράκης ἐν μεσόγειαν διεφθάρησαν ἐν Δραβησκῷ τῇ Ἡδωνικῇ ὑπὸ τῶν Θρακῶν ξυμπάντων, οἰς πολέμιον ἦν τὸ χωρίον [αὶ

7. ἐν Παμφυλίᾳ om. M. secl. Stahl
supraser. G 27. ξυμπάντων] omnes Valla: ξύμπαντες
Poppo, ai Ἐννέα ὁδοῖ secl. Cobet

13. τε ABEFM

101 Ἐννέα ὁδοὶ] κτιζόμενον. Θάσιοι δὲ νικηθέντες

Thasos seeks
help from
Sparta; but an
earthquake and
the revolt of the
helots prevented

2 S. from inter-
vening. The
Messianian war.

μάχη καὶ πολιορκούμενοι Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπεκαλοῦντο καὶ ἐπαμύνειν ἐκέλευνον ἐσβαλόντας ἐς τὴν Ἀττικήν. οἱ δὲ ὑπέσχοντο μὲν κρύφα τῶν 5 Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἔμελλον, διεκωλύθησαν δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ γενομένου σεισμοῦ, ἐν ὧ καὶ οἱ Εἰλωτες αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν περιοίκων Θουριάται τε καὶ Αἰθαιῆς ἐς Ἰθώμην ἀπέστησαν. πλεῖστοι δὲ τῶν Εἰλώτων ἐγένοντο οἱ τῶν 10 παλαιῶν Μεσσηνίων τότε δουλωθέντων ἀπόγονοι. ἥ καὶ Μεσσήνιοι ἐκλήθησαν οἱ πάντες. 3 πρὸς μὲν οὖν τοὺς ἐν Ἰθώμῃ πόλεμος

Surrender of
Thasos.

καθειστήκει Λακεδαιμονίοις, Θάσιοι δὲ τρίτῳ ἔτει πολιορκούμενοι ὡμο- 15 λόγησαν Ἀθηναίους τεῖχός τε καθελόντες καὶ ναῦς παραδόντες, χρήματά τε ὅσα ἔδει ἀποδοῦνται αὐτίκα ταξάμενοι καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν φέρειν, τήν τε ἥπειρον καὶ τὸ μέταλλον ἀφέντες. 20

102 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέ, ως αὐτοῖς πρὸς τοὺς ἐν

Sparta seeks
help from
Athens against
the helots; but
becoming
suspicious, sends
back the force.

Ἰθώμῃ ἐμηκύνετο ὁ πόλεμος, ἄλλους τε ἐπεκαλέσαντο ξυμμάχους καὶ Ἀθηναίους. οἱ δ' ἥλθον Κίμωνος στρατηγοῦντος πλήθει οὐκ ὀλίγῳ. 25

2 μάλιστα δ' αὐτοὺς ἐπεκαλέσαντο ὅτι τειχομαχεῖν ἐδόκουν δυνατοὶ εἶναι, τοῖς δὲ πολιορκίας

2. μάχαις ABEFM 3. ἐπαμῦναι ABEFM γρ. G
9. Αἰθαιεῖς Steph. Byz.: Αἰθεῖς vel Αἰθνεῖς coll. 13.
οὖν C: om. cett. (add. G¹) 27. τοῖς] τῆς rec. et Schol.

μακρᾶς καθεστηκυίας τούτου ἐνδεῖ ἐφαίνετο· βίᾳ γὰρ ἀν εἶλον τὸ χωρίον. καὶ διαφορὰ ἐκ 3 ταύτης τῆς στρατείας πρῶτον Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις φανερὰ ἐγένετο. οἱ γὰρ 5 Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπειδὴ τὸ χωρίον βίᾳ οὐχ ἡλίσκετο, δείσαντες τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸ τολμηρὸν καὶ τὴν νεωτεροποίιαν, καὶ ἀλλοφύλους ἄμα 10 ἡγησάμενοι, μή τι, ἦν παραμείνωσιν, ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Ἰθώμῃ πεισθέντες νεωτερίσωσι, μόνους τῶν 15 ξυμμάχων ἀπέπεμψαν, τὴν μὲν ὑποψίαν οὐ δηλοῦντες, εἰπόντες δὲ ὅτι οὐδὲν προσδέονται αὐτῶν ἔτι. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔγνωσαν οὐκ ἐπὶ 4 τῷ βελτίονι λόγῳ ἀποπεμπόμενοι, 20 ἀλλά τινος ὑπόπτου γενομένου, καὶ 15 δεινὸν ποιησάμενοι καὶ οὐκ ἀξιώσαντες ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων τοῦτο παθεῖν, εὐθὺς ἐπειδὴ ἀνεχώρησαν, ἀφέντες τὴν γενομένην ἐπὶ τῷ

This conduct so
greatly incensed
the Athenians
that they
abandoned the
alliance with
Sparta, and
formed one with
Argos and
Thessaly.

Μήδῳ ξυμμαχίαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς Ἀργείοις τοῖς 25 ἐκείνων πολεμίοις ξύμμαχοι ἐγένοντο, καὶ πρὸς Θεσσαλοὺς ἄμα ἀμφοτέροις οἱ αὐτοὶ ὄρκοι καὶ 30 ξυμμαχία κατέστη. Οἱ δὲ ἐν Ἰθώμῃ δεκάτῳ ἔτει, ὡς οὐκέτι 103
ἐδύναντο ἀντέχειν, ξυνέβησαν πρὸς 25 τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐφ' ὧ ἐξίασιν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ὑπόσπονδοι καὶ μηδέποτε ἐπιβήσονται αὐτῆς. ἦν δέ 35 τις ἀλίσκηται, τοῦ λαβόντος εἶναι δοῦλον. ἦν 2

End of the
Messenian war.
The helots
settled at
Naupactus by
Athens.

δέ τι καὶ χρηστήριον τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις
 Πυθικὸν πρὸ τοῦ, τὸν ἵκέτην τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ
 3 Ἰθωμήτα ἀφιέναι. ἐξῆλθον δὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ
 παῖδες καὶ γυναῖκες, καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι
 δεξάμενοι κατ' ἔχθος ἥδη τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐς 5
 Ναύπακτον κατώκισαν, ἦν ἔτυχον ἥρηκότες
 4 νεωστὶ Λοκρῶν τῶν Ὀζολῶν ἔχόντων. προσε-
 χώρησαν δὲ καὶ Μεγαρῆς Ἀθηναίοις ἐς
 Megara revolts
 to Athens.
 Occupation of
 Pegae and
 Nisaea.
 ξυμμαχίαν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπο-
 στάντες, ὅτι αὐτοὺς Κορίνθιοι περὶ 10
 γῆς ὅρων πολέμῳ κατεῖχον· καὶ
 ἔσχον Ἀθηναῖοι Μέγαρα καὶ Πηγάς, καὶ τὰ
 μακρὰ τείχη ὡκοδόμησαν Μεγαρεῦσι τὰ ἀπὸ
 τῆς πόλεως ἐς Νίσαιαν καὶ ἐφρούρουν αὐτοί.
 καὶ Κορινθίοις μὲν οὐχ ἤκιστα ἀπὸ τοῦδε τὸ 15
 σφοδρὸν μῆσος ἥρξατο πρῶτον ἐς Ἀθηναίους
 γενέσθαι.

104 Ἰνάρως δὲ ὁ Ψαμμητίχου, Λίβυς, βασιλεὺς
 Egypt revolts
 from Persia;
 Athens sends
 aid to Egypt.
 Λιβύων τῶν πρὸς Αἰγύπτῳ, ὅρμω-
 μενος ἐκ Μαρείας τῆς ὑπὲρ Φάρου 20
 πόλεως ἀπέστησεν Αἰγύπτου τὰ
 πλείω ἀπὸ βασιλέως Ἀρταξέρξου, καὶ αὐτὸς
 2 ἄρχων γενόμενος Ἀθηναίους ἐπηγάγετο. οἱ δέ
 (ἔτυχον γὰρ ἐς Κύπρον στρατευόμενοι ναυσὶ²⁵
 διακοσίαις αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων) ἥλθον ἀπολιπόντες τὴν Κύπρον, καὶ ἀναπλεύσαντες
 ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον τοῦ τε ποταμοῦ
 κρατοῦντες καὶ τῆς Μέμφιδος τῶν δύο μερῶν
 πρὸς τὸ τρίτον μέρος ὁ καλεῖται Λευκὸν

τεῦχος ἐπολέμουν· ἐνῆσαν δὲ αὐτόθι Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων οἱ καταφυγόντες καὶ Αἰγυπτίων οἱ μὴ ξυναποστάντες.

‘Αθηναίοις δὲ ναυσὶν ἀποβᾶσιν ἐς Ἀλιᾶς 2 105 πρὸς Κορινθίους καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίους μάχη ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐνίκων Κορίνθιοι. καὶ ὅστερον Ἀθηναῖοι ἐναυμάχησαν ἐπὶ Κεκρυφαλείᾳ Πελοποννησίων ναυσί, καὶ ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι. πολέμου δὲ καταστάν- 10 τος πρὸς Αἰγινήτας Ἀθηναίοις μετὰ ταῦτα ναυμαχία γίγνεται ἐπ’ Αἰγίνη μεγάλῃ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Αἰγινητῶν, καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἑκατέροις παρῆσαν, καὶ ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ναῦς ἐβδομήκοντα λαβόντες 15 αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀπέβησαν καὶ ἐπολιόρκουν, Λεωκράτους τοῦ Στροίβου στρατηγοῦντος. ἔπειτα Πελοποννήσιοι ἀμύνειν βουλόμενοι 3 Αἰγινήταις ἐς μὲν τὴν Αἴγιναν τριακοσίους ὄπλιτας πρότερον Κορινθίων καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίων 20 ἐπικούρους διεβίβασαν, τὰ δὲ ἄκρα τῆς Γερανείας κατέλαβον καὶ ἐς τὴν Μεγαρίδα κατέβησαν Κορίνθιοι μετὰ τῶν ξυμμάχων, νομίζοντες ἀδυνάτους ἔσεσθαι Ἀθηναίους βοηθεῖν τοῖς Μεγαρεῦσιν ἐν τε Αἰγίνη ἀπούσης στρα- 25 τιᾶς πολλῆς καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ· ἦν δὲ καὶ βοηθῶσιν, ἀπ’ Αἰγίνης ἀναστήσεσθαι αὐτούς. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ μὲν πρὸς Αἰγίνη στράτευμα 4 οὐκ ἐκίνησαν, τῶν δ’ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὑπολοίπων οἵ τε πρεσβύτατοι καὶ οἱ νεώτατοι ἀφικνοῦνται ἐς τὰ Μέγαρα Μυρωνίδου στρα-

Athens at war
with Peloponnesians.

War between
Athens and
Aegina. The
Corinthians
enter the
Megarid.

5 τηγοῦντος. καὶ μάχης γενομένης ἴσορρόπου πρὸς Κορινθίους διεκρίθησαν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, καὶ ἐνόμισαν αὐτοὶ ἐκάτεροι οὐκ ἔλασσον ἔχειν 6 ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ. καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι (ἐκράτησαν γὰρ ὅμως μᾶλλον) ἀπελθόντων τῶν Κορινθίων 5 τροπαῖον ἔστησαν· οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι κακιζόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει πρεσβυτέρων καὶ παρασκευασάμενοι, ἡμέραις ὕστερον δώδεκα μάλιστα ἐλθόντες ἀνθίστασαν τροπαῖον καὶ αὐτοὶ ὡς νικήσαντες. καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκβοηθήσαντες 10 ἐκ τῶν Μεγάρων τούς τε τὸ τροπαῖον ἴστάντας διαφθείρουσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ξυμβαλόντες

106 Defeat of the Corinthians by Myronides. ἐκράτησαν. οἱ δὲ νικώμενοι ὑπεχώρουν, καί τι αὐτῶν μέρος οὐκ ὀλίγον προσβιασθὲν καὶ διαμαρτὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ 15 ἐσέπεσεν ἐς του χωρίον ἴδιώτου, ω̄ ἔτυχεν ὅρυγμα μέγα περιεῖργον καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἔξοδος. 2 οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι γνόντες κατὰ πρόσωπόν τε εἰργον τοῖς ὄπλίταις καὶ περιστήσαντες κύκλῳ τοὺς ψιλοὺς κατέλευσαν πάντας τοὺς ἐσελθόντας, καὶ πάθος μέγα τοῦτο Κορινθίοις ἐγένετο. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἀπεχώρησεν αὐτοῖς τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπ' οἴκου.

107 "Ηρξαντο δὲ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τούτους καὶ The Long Walls begun at Athens. τὰ μακρὰ τείχη Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς 25 θάλασσαν οἰκοδομεῖν, τό τε Φαληρόνδε καὶ τὸ ἐς Πειραιᾶ. καὶ Φωκέων στρατευσάντων ἐς Δωριᾶς τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων μη-

8. ἡμέραις f: ἡμέρας codd.
25. ἐς θάλασσαν Ἀθηναῖοι ABEFM

10. ἐκβοήσαντες CG Schol.

τρόπολιν, Βοιὸν καὶ Κυτίνιον καὶ Ἐρινεόν, καὶ ἐλόντων ἐν τῷ πολισμάτων τούτων, οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Νικομήδους τοῦ Κλεομβρότου ὑπὲρ Πλειστοάνακτος τοῦ Παυσανίου βασιλέως νέου 5 ὄντος ἔτι ἡγουμένου ἐβοήθησαν τοῖς Δωριεῦσιν ἑαυτῶν τε πεντακοσίοις καὶ χιλίοις ὀπλίταις καὶ τῷ ξυμμάχῳ μυρίοις, καὶ τοὺς Φωκέας ὁμολογίᾳ ἀναγκάσαντες ἀποδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν ἀπεχώρουν πάλιν. καὶ κατὰ θύλασσαν μὲν 3 10 αὐτούς, διὰ τοῦ Κρισαίου κόλπου εἰ βούλοιντο περαιοῦσθαι, Ἀθηναῖοι ναυσὶ περιπλεύσαντες ἔμελλον κωλύσειν· διὰ δὲ τῆς Γερανείας οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς αὐτοῖς ἐφαίνετο Ἀθηναίων ἔχόντων Μέγαρα καὶ Πηγὰς 15 πορεύεσθαι. δύσοδός τε γὰρ ἡ Γερανεία καὶ ἐφρουρεῖτο αἱεὶ ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τότε ἥσθανοντο αὐτοὺς μέλλοντας καὶ ταίτη κωλύσειν. ἔδοξε δ' αὐτοῖς ἐν Βοιωτοῖς περιμείνασι σκέψασθαι ὅτῳ τρόπῳ 20 ἀσφαλέστατα διαπορεύσονται. τὸ δέ τι καὶ ἄνδρες τῷ Ἀθηναίων ἐπῆγον αὐτοὺς κρύφα, ἐλπίσαντες δῆμόν τε καταπαύσειν καὶ τὰ μακρὰ τείχη οἰκοδομούμενα. ἐβοήθησαν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς 25 5 οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πανδημεὶ καὶ Ἀργείων χῖλιοι καὶ τῷ ἄλλων ξυμμάχων ὡς ἔκαστοι· ξύμπαντες δὲ ἐγένοντο τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ μύριοι. νομίσαντες δὲ ἀπο- 6

The Spartans
help the Dorians
against the
Phocians.

The Athenians
having occupied
the pass of
Geraea, the
Spartans wait
in Boeotia con-
sidering how to
return, and in-
trigue against
the democracy. 4

A strong
Athenian force
marches out to
oppose them.

12. κωλύειν ABEFM
15. πορεύεσθαι, ut videtur, non legit Schol., secl. Hude
ἐπῆγον αὐτοὺς τῷ Ἀθηναίων C

14. ἐφαίνετο αὐτοῖς ABEFM[G]

22

ρεῦν ὅπη διέλθωσιν ἐπεστράτευσαν αὐτοῖς, καὶ
7 τι καὶ τοῦ δήμου καταλύσεως ὑποψίᾳ. ἥλθον
δὲ καὶ Θεσσαλῶν ἵππης τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις κατὰ
τὸ ξυμμαχικόν, οἱ μετέστησαν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ
108 παρὰ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. γενομένης δὲ μάχης 5

Battle of
Tanagra: the
Athenians
defeated. Two
months later
the Athenians
invade Boeotia
and conquer it.

πάλιν ἀπῆλθον ἐπ' οἴκου διὰ Γερανείας καὶ
Ίσθμοῦ. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ δευτέρᾳ καὶ ἔξηκοστῇ
ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐστράτευσαν ἐς Βοιω-
3 τοὺς Μυρωνίδου στρατηγοῦντος, καὶ μάχη ἐν

Surrender of
Aegina. Naval
successes of
Tolmides.

15 Οίνοφύτοις τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς νικήσαν-
τες τῆς τε χώρας ἐκράτησαν τῆς
Βοιωτίας καὶ Φωκίδος καὶ Τανα-
γραίων τὸ τεῖχος περιεῖλον καὶ Λοκρῶν
τῶν Ὀπουντίων ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας ὁμήρους τοὺς
πλουσιωτάτους Ἐλαβον, τά τε τείχη ἑαυτῶν 20
4 τὰ μακρὰ ἀπετέλεσαν. ὡμολόγησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ
Αἰγινῆται μετὰ ταῦτα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, τείχη
τε περιελόντες καὶ ναῦς παραδόντες φόρον τε
5 ταξάμενοι ἐς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον. καὶ Πελο-
πόννησον περιέπλευσαν Ἀθηναῖοι Τολμίδου τοῦ
Τολμαίου στρατηγοῦντος, καὶ τὸ νεώριον τῶν
Λακεδαιμονίων ἐνέπρησαν καὶ Χαλκίδα Κοριν-

5. post δὲ add. τῆς C
τείχη add. τὰ ABEF
ABEFM

15. τοὺς om. CG
21. ἐπετέλεσαν ABEFM || οἱ om.
26. τῶν] τὰ ABEFM

20. post

θίων πόλιν εἶλον καὶ Σικυωνίους ἐν ἀποβάσει τῆς γῆς μάχη ἐκράτησαν.

Οι δ' ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ ξύμ- 109
μαχοὶ ἐπέμενον, καὶ αὐτοῖς πολλαὶ 5 ἰδέαι πολέμων κατέστησαν. τὸ μὲν
γὰρ πρῶτον ἐκράτουν τῆς Αἰγύπτου
οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ βασιλεὺς πέμπει ἐς Λακε-
δαίμονα Μεγάβαζον ἄνδρα Πέρσην χρήματα
ἔχοντα, ὅπως ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐσβαλεῖν πει-
10 σθέντων τῶν. Πελοποννησίων ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου
ἀπαγάγοι Ἀθηναίους. ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ οὐ πρου- 3
χώρει καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἄλλως ἀνηλοῦτο, ὁ μὲν
Μεγάβαζος καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν χρημάτων πάλιν
ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀνεκομίσθη, Μεγάβαζον δὲ τὸν
15 Ζωπύρου πέμπει ἄνδρα Πέρσην μετὰ στρατιᾶς
πολλῆς. ὃς ἀφικόμενος κατὰ γῆν τοὺς τε 4
Αἰγυπτίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους μάχη ἐκράτησε
καὶ ἐκ τῆς Μέμφιδος ἐξῆλασε τοὺς Ἐλληνας
καὶ τέλος ἐς Προσωπίτιδα τὴν νῆσον κατέ-
20 κλησε καὶ ἐπολιόρκει ἐν αὐτῇ ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ ἔξ
μῆνας, μέχρι οὐ ξηράνας τὴν διώρυχα καὶ
παρατρέψας ἄλλη τὸ ὄδωρ τάς τε ναῦς ἐπὶ
τοῦ ξηροῦ ἐποίησε καὶ τῆς νῆσου τὰ πολλὰ
ἢπειρον, καὶ διαβὰς εἶλε τὴν 110
25 νῆσον πεζῇ. οὕτω μὲν τὰ τῶν Ἐλλήνων πράγματα ἐφθάρη ἔξ ἔτη Egypt again
πολεμήσαντα· καὶ ὀλίγοι ἀπὸ πολλῶν πορευό-
subject to
Persia. A
second Athenian
force destroyed.

1. πόλιν om. C 4. ἔτι ἔμενον C: ἔτι ἐπέμενον G
7. οἱ C: om. cett. 10. τῶν om. C[G] 14. ἀκομίσθη
ABEFM 16. τε om. ABEFM[G] 24. ἢπειρον C
suprascr. G

μενοι διὰ τῆς Λιβύης ἐς Κυρήνην ἐσώθησαν, οἱ
 2 δὲ πλεῖστοι ἀπώλοντο. Αἴγυπτος δὲ πάλιν
 ὑπὸ βασιλέα ἐγένετο πλὴν Ἀμυρταίου τοῦ ἐν
 τοῖς ἔλεσι βασιλέως· τοῦτον δὲ διὰ μέγεθός
 τε τοῦ ἔλους οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἐλεῖν, καὶ ἅμα 5
 μαχιμώτατοί εἰσι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἔλειοι.
 3 Ἰνάρως δὲ ὁ Λιβύων βασιλεύς, ὃς τὰ πάντα
 ἐπραξε περὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου, προδοσίᾳ ληφθεὶς
 4 ἀνεσταυρώθη. ἐκ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν καὶ τῆς
 ἄλλης ξυμμαχίδος πεντήκοντα τριήρεις διάδοχοι 10
 πλέουσαι ἐς Αἰγυπτὸν ἔσχον κατὰ τὸ Μεν-
 δήσιον κέρας, οὐκ εἰδότες τῶν γεγονότων οὐδέν·
 καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐκ τε γῆς ἐπιπεσόντες πεζοὶ καὶ
 ἐκ θαλάσσης Φοινίκων ναυτικὸν διέφθειραν τὰς
 πολλὰς τῶν νεῶν, αἱ δὲ ἐλάσσους διέφυγον 15
 πάλιν. τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν μεγάλην στρατείαν
 Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων ἐς Αἰγυπτὸν
 οὔτως ἐτελεύτησεν.

111 Ἐκ δὲ Θεσσαλίας ὁ Ἐχεκρατίδου
 Unsuccessful invasion of Thessaly. σιὸς τοῦ Θεσσαλῶν βασιλέως φεύ- 20
 γων ἐπεισεν Ἀθηναίους ἐαυτὸν κατάγειν· καὶ παραλαβόντες Βοιωτοὺς καὶ Φωκέας ὄντας ξυμμάχους οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐστράτευσαν τῆς Θεσσαλίας ἐπὶ Φάρσαλον. καὶ τῆς μὲν γῆς ἐκράτουν ὅσα μὴ προϊόντες πολὺ 25
 ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων (οἱ γὰρ ἵππης τῶν Θεσσαλῶν εἱργον), τὴν δὲ πόλιν οὐχ εἶλον, οὐδὲ ἄλλο προυχώρει αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ὡν ἔνεκα ἐστράτευ-

9. Ἀθηνῶν Schol. Townl. II 280: Ἀθηναίων codd. γεγενημένων ABEFM

23. o: om. ABEFM

σαν, ἀλλ' ἀπεχώρησαν πάλιν Ὁρέστην ἔχοντες ἄπρακτοι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον 2 χίλιοι Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς τὰς ἐν Πηγαῖς ἐπιβάντες (εἶχον δ' αὐτοὶ τὰς Πηγαίς) παρέ- 5 πλευσαν ἐς Σικυῶνα Περικλέους τοῦ Ξανθίππου στρατηγοῦντος, καὶ ἀποβάντες Σικυωνίων τοὺς προσμείξαντας μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν. καὶ εὐθὺς 3 παραλαβόντες Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ δια- πλεύσαντες πέραν τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας 10 ἐς Οίνιαδας ἐστράτευσαν καὶ ἐπολιόρκουν, οὐ μέντοι εἶλόν γε, ἀλλ' ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου.

Pericles gains a
victory over
Sicyon.

"Τοτερον δὲ διαλιπόντων ἐτῶν τριῶν σπουν- 112 δαὶ γίγνονται Πελοποννησίοις καὶ Expedition
against Cyprus:
death of Cimon. 2 Ἀθηναίοις πεντέτεις. καὶ Ἐλληνι- 15 κοῦ μὲν πολέμου ἔσχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐς δὲ Κύπρου ἐστρατεύοντο ναυσὶ διακοσίαις αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων Κίμωνος στρατηγοῦντος. καὶ ἔξήκοντα μὲν νῆες ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπ' αὐτῶν 20 σπλευσαν, Ἀμυρταίου μεταπέμποντος τοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἔλεσι βασιλέως, αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι Κίτιον ἐπολιόρκουν. Κίμωνος δὲ ἀποθανόντος καὶ 25 λιμοῦ γενομένου ἀπεχώρησαν ἀπὸ Κιτίου, καὶ πλεύσαντες ὑπὲρ Σαλαμῖνος τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ Φοίνιξι καὶ Κυπρίοις καὶ Κίλιξιν ἐναυμάχησαν καὶ ἐπεζομάχησαν ἄμα, καὶ οικήσαντες ἀμ- φότερα ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου καὶ αἱ ἔξ 30 Αἴγυπτον νῆες πάλιν [αἱ] ἐλθοῦσαι The Sacred
War. 5 μετ' αὐτῶν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν ιερὸν καλούμενον πόλεμον ἐστρά-

τευσαν, καὶ κρατήσαντες τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς
ἱεροῦ παρέδοσαν Δελφοῖς· καὶ αὐθις ὕστερον
Ἀθηναῖοι ἀποχωρησάντων αὐτῶν στρατεύσαντες
καὶ κρατήσαντες παρέδοσαν Φωκεῦσιν.

113 Καὶ χρόνου ἐγγενομένου μετὰ ταῦτα Ἀθη-⁵
Boeotia revolts.
The Athenians
defeated at
Coronea.
Boeotia in-
dependent.
ταῖοι, Βοιωτῶν τῶν φευγόντων ἔχόν-
των Ὁρχομενὸν καὶ Χαιρώνειαν καὶ
ἄλλ' ἄττα χωρία τῆς Βοιωτίας,
ἐστράτευσαν ἑαυτῶν μὲν χιλίοις
οπλίταις, τῶν δὲ ξυμμάχων ὡς ἑκάστοις ἐπὶ¹⁰
τὰ χωρία ταῦτα πολέμια ὅντα, Τολμίδου τοῦ
Τολμαίου στρατηγοῦντος. καὶ Χαιρώνειαν
ἔλόντες καὶ ἀνδραποδίσαντες ἀπεχώρουν φυλα-
2 κὴν καταστήσαντες. πορευομένοις δ' αὐτοῖς ἐν
Κορωνείᾳ ἐπιτίθενται οἱ τε ἐκ τῆς Ὁρχομενοῦ¹⁵
φυγάδες Βοιωτῶν καὶ Λοκροὶ μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ
Εὐβοέων φυγάδες καὶ ὅσοι τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης
ῆσαν, καὶ μάχη κρατήσαντες τοὺς μὲν διέφθειραν
3 τῶν Ἀθηναίων, τοὺς δὲ ζῶντας ἔλαβον. καὶ
τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἔξελιπον Ἀθηναῖοι πᾶσαν, σπου-²⁰
δὰς ποιησάμενοι ἐφ' ὧ τοὺς ἄνδρας κομιοῦνται.
4 καὶ οἱ φεύγοντες Βοιωτῶν κατελθόντες καὶ οἱ
ἄλλοι πάντες αὐτόνομοι πάλιν ἐγένοντο.

114 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον Εὔβοια
Euboea and
Megara revolt.
The Spartans
invade Attica,
but soon with-
draw.
ἀπέστη ἀπὸ Ἀθηναίων, καὶ ἐς αὐ-²⁵
τὴν διαβεβηκότος ἥδη Περικλέους
στρατιὰ Ἀθηναίων ἡγγέλθη αὐτῷ
ὅτι Μέγαρα ἀφέστηκε καὶ Πελο-

13. καὶ ἀνδραποδίσαντες οι. ABEFM 14. ἐγκαταστήσαντες
Herwerden

ποννήσιοι μέλλουσιν ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ οἱ φρουροὶ Ἀθηναίων διεφθαρμένοι εἰσὶν ὑπὸ Μεγαρέων, πλὴν ὅσοι ἐς Νίσαιαν ἀπέφυγον· ἐπαγαγόμενοι δὲ Κορινθίους καὶ Σικυώνιους καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίους ἀπέστησαν οἱ Μεγαρῆς. ὁ δὲ Περικλῆς πάλιν κατὰ τάχος ἐκόμιζε τὴν στρατιὰν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐς Ἐλευσῖνα καὶ Θριῶζε ἐσβαλόντες ἐδήωσαν Πλειστοάνακτος 10 τοῦ Παυσανίου βασιλέως Λακεδαιμονίων ἥγουμένου, καὶ τὸ πλέον οὐκέτι προελθόντες ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου. καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι πάλιν ἐς 3 Εὐβοιαν διαβάντες Περικλέους στρα- Pericles
conquers
Euboea. τηγοῦντος κατεστρέψαντο πᾶσαν,

15 καὶ τὴν μὲν ἄλλην ὁμολογίᾳ κατεστήσαντο, 'Εστιαιᾶς δὲ ἔξοικίσαντες αὐτοὶ τὴν γῆν ἔσχον. ἀναχωρήσαντες δὲ ἀπ' Εὐβοίας οὐ πολλῷ 115 ὕστερον σπουδὰς ἐποιήσαντο πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους The Thirty
Years' Peace 20 τριακοντούτεις, ἀποδόντες Νίσαιαν καὶ Πηγὰς καὶ Τροιζῆνα καὶ Ἀχαταν· ταῦτα γὰρ εἶχον Ἀθηναῖοι Πελοποννησίων.

"Ἐκτῷ δὲ ἔτει Σαμίοις καὶ Μιλησίοις πόλε- 2 μος ἐγένετο περὶ Πριήνης, καὶ οἱ Revolt of
Samos, and of
Byzantium. 25 Μιλήσιοι ἐλασσούμενοι τῷ πολέμῳ παρ' Ἀθηναίους ἐλθόντες κατεβόων τῶν Σαμίων. ξυνεπελάθοντο δὲ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς Σάμου ἄνδρες ἴδιωται νεωτερίσαι βουλόμενοι τὴν πολι-

3 τείαν. πλεύσαντες οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς Σάμον ναυσὶ τεσταράκοντα δημοκρατίαν κατέστησαν, καὶ ὄμήρους ἔλαβον τῶν Σαμίων πεντήκοντα μὲν παιδας, ἵσους δὲ ἄνδρας, καὶ κατέθεντο ἐς Λῆμνον, καὶ φρουρὰν ἐγκαταλιπόντες ἀνε- 5 χώρησαν. τῶν δὲ Σαμίων ἥσαν γάρ τινες οἱ οὐχ ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλ' ἔφυγον ἐς τὴν ἥπειρον, ξυνθέμενοι τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει τοῖς δυνατωτάτοις καὶ Πισσούθνῃ τῷ Τστάσπου ξυμμαχίαν, ὃς εἶχε Σάρδεις τότε, ἐπικούρους τε ξυλλέξαντες 10 ἐς ἐπτακοσίους διέβησαν ὑπὸ νύκτα ἐς τὴν Σάμον, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τῷ δίμῳ ἐπανέστησαν καὶ ἐκράτησαν τῶν πλείστων, ἔπειτα τοὺς ὄμήρους ἐκκλέψαντες ἐκ Λήμνου τοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπέστησαν, καὶ τοὺς φρουροὺς τοὺς Ἀθηναίων 15 καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας οἱ ἥσαν παρὰ σφίσιν ἐξέδοσαν Πισσούθνῃ, ἐπὶ τε Μίλητον εὐθὺς παρεσκευάζοντο στρατεύειν. ξυναπέστησαν δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Βυζάντιοι.

116 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὡς ἥσθοντο, πλεύσαντες ναυσὶν 20

Pericles sent οἴξηκοντα ἐπὶ Σάμον ταῖς μὲν ἐκ-
to Samios. καίδεκα τῶν νεῶν οὐκ ἐχρήσαντο
(ἔτυχον γὰρ αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ Καρίας ἐς προσκοπὴν τῶν Φοινισσῶν νεῶν οἰχόμεναι, αἱ δὲ ἐπὶ Χίου καὶ Λέσβου περιαγγέλλουσαι βοηθεῖν), τεσ- 25 σαράκοντα δὲ ναυσὶ καὶ τέσσαρσι Περικλέους δεκάτου αὐτοῦ στρατηγοῦντος ἐναυμάχησαν πρὸς Τραγίᾳ τῇ νήσῳ Σαμίων ναυσὶν ἐβδομήκοντα,

7. ὑπέμενον ABEFM 14. κλέψαντες ABEFM 18. post
παρεσκευάζοντο add. μετ' αὐτοὺς C, μετ' αὐτοῦ G

ών ήσαν αἱ εἴκοσι στρατιώτιδες (ἔτυχον δὲ αἱ πᾶσαι ἀπὸ Μιλήτου πλέουσαι), καὶ ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι. ὕστερον δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐβοήθησαν ἐκ 2 τῶν Ἀθηνῶν νῆες τεσσαράκοντα καὶ Χίων καὶ 5 Λεσβίων πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι, καὶ ἀποβάίτες καὶ κρατοῦντες τῷ πεζῷ ἐπολιόρκουν τρισὶ τείχεσι τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης ἄμα. Περικλῆς 3 δὲ λαβὼν ἐξήκοντα ναῦς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐφορμουσῶν ὤχετο κατὰ τάχος ἐπὶ Καύνου καὶ Καρίας, 10 ἐσαγγελθέντων ὅτι Φοίνισσαι νῆες ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς πλέουσιν. ὤχετο γὰρ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Σάμου πέντε ναυσὶ Στησαγόρας καὶ ἄλλοι ἐπὶ τὰς Φοινίσσας, 15 ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ Σάμιοι ἐξαπιναίως ἐκπλουν 117 ποιησάμενοι ἀφάρκτῳ τῷ στρα- Submission of Samos and Byzantium.
20 τοπέδῳ ἐπιπεσόντες τάς τε προ- φυλακίδας ναῦς διέφθειραν καὶ ναυμαχοῦντες τὰς ἀνταναγομένας ἐνίκησαν, καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς καθ’ ἑαυτοὺς ἐκράτησαν ἡμέρας περὶ τέσσαρας καὶ δέκα, καὶ ἐσεκομίσαντο καὶ ἐξε- 25 κομίσαντο ἀ ἐβούλοντο. ἐλθόντος δὲ Περι- 2 κλέους πάλιν ταῖς ναυσὶ κατεκλήσθησαν. καὶ ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ὕστερον προσεβοήθησαν τεσσαράκοντα μὲν αἱ μετὰ Θουκυδίδου καὶ "Αγνωνος καὶ Φορμίωνος νῆες, εἴκοσι δὲ αἱ μετὰ Τληπολέμου 25 καὶ Ἀντικλέους, ἐκ δὲ Χίου καὶ Λέσβου τριάκοντα. καὶ ναυμαχίαν μέν τινα βραχεῖαν 3 ἐποιήσαντο οἱ Σάμιοι, ἀδύνατοι δὲ ὅντες ἀντίσχειν ἐξεπολιορκήθησαν ἐνάτῳ μηνὶ καὶ προσε-

5. post ἀποβάντες add. ἐς τὴν γῆν CG (del. G¹) 24. al
om. ACG 27. ἀντίσχειν Krüger: ἀντισχεῖν codd.

χώρησαν ὁμολογίᾳ, τεῖχός τε καθελόντες καὶ ὁμήρους δόντες καὶ ναῦς παραδόντες καὶ χρήματα τὰ ἀναλωθέντα ταξάμενοι κατὰ χρόνους ἀποδοῦναι. ξυνέβησαν δὲ καὶ Βυζάντιοι ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον ὑπήκοοι εἶναι.

5

118 Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἥδη γίγνεται οὐ πολλοῖς

Resumption of
the main
subject (c. 88).
The Spartans
receive en-
couragement
from Delphi.

ἔτεσιν ὕστερον τὰ προειρημένα, τά τε Κερκυραϊκὰ καὶ τὰ Ποτειδεατικὰ καὶ ὅσα πρόφασις τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου κατέστη. ταῦτα δὲ ξύμπαντα

2 10 ὅσα ἔπραξαν οἱ Ἕλληνες πρός τε ἀλλήλους καὶ τὸν βάρβαρον ἐγένετο ἐν ἔτεσι πεντήκοντα μάλιστα μεταξὺ τῆς τε Ξέρξου ἀναχωρήσεως καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου· ἐν οἷς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τήν τε ἀρχὴν ἐγκρατεστέραν κατε- 15 στήσαντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ μέγα ἔχαρησαν δυνάμεως, οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι αἰσθόμενοι οὔτε ἐκώλυνον εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ βραχύ, ἡσύχαζόν τε τὸ πλέον τοῦ χρόνου, ὅντες μὲν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ μὴ παχεῖς ἴέναι ἐς τοὺς πολέμους, ἦν μὴ ἀναγκά- 20 ζωνται, τὸ δέ τι καὶ πολέμοις οἰκείους ἐξειργόμενοι, πρὶν δὴ ἡ δύναμις τῶν Ἀθηναίων σαφῶς ἥρετο καὶ τῆς ξυμμαχίας αὐτῶν ἥπτοντο. τότε δὲ οὐκέτι ἀνασχετὸν ἐποιοῦντο, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπιχειρητέα ἐδόκει εἶναι πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ καὶ 25 καθαιρετέα ἡ ἴσχύς, ἦν δύνωνται, ἀραμένοις

3. κατὰ χρόνους ταξάμενοι ΑΒΕΦΜ 13. τε οι. ΑΒΕΦΜ
14. οι οι. ΑΒΕΦΜ 20. ἦν μὴ ἀναγκάζωνται Σ Dion. Hal.:
ει μὴ ἀναγκάζωνται G: ει μὴ ἀναγκάζοντο cett. 21. τὸ δέ τι]
τότε δέ τι Dion. Hal.: τότε δ' ἔτι Reiske

τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον. αὐτοῖς μὲν οὖν τοῖς 3
 Λακεδαιμονίοις διέγνωστο λελύσθαι τε τὰς
 σπουδὰς καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀδικεῖν, πέμ-
 ψαντες δὲ ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπηρώτων τὸν θεὸν
 5 εἰ πολεμοῦσιν ἄμεινον ἔσται· ὁ δὲ ἀνεῖλεν
 αὐτοῖς, ως λέγεται, κατὰ κράτος πολεμοῦσι
 νίκην ἔσεσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφη ξυλλήψεσθαι
 καὶ παρακαλούμενος καὶ ἄκλητος. αὖθις δὲ τοὺς 119
 ξυμμάχους παρακαλέσαντες ψῆφον
 10 ἐβούλοντο ἐπαγαγεῖν εἰ χρὴ πολε-
 μεῖν. καὶ ἐλθόντων τῶν πρέσβεων
 ἀπὸ τῆς ξυμμαχίας καὶ ξυνόδου γενομένης οὕ-
 τε ἄλλοι εἰπον ἢ ἐβούλοντο, κατηγοροῦντες
 οἱ πλείους τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὸν πόλεμον
 15 ἀξιοῦντες γίγνεσθαι, καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι δεηθέντες
 μὲν καὶ κατὰ πόλεις πρότερον ἐκάστων ἴδιᾳ
 ὥστε ψηφίσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον, δεδιότες περὶ
 τῇ Ποτειδαίᾳ μὴ προδιαφθαρῆ, παρόντες δὲ καὶ
 τότε καὶ τελευταῖοι ἐπελθόντες ἔλεγον τοιάδε.
 20 “Τοὺς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους, ὡς ἄνδρες ξύμ- 120
 μαχοι, οὐκ ἀν ἔτι αἰτιασαίμεθα ως
 οὐ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐψηφισμένοι τὸν
 πόλεμόν εἰσι καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐς τοῦτο
 νῦν ξυνήγαγον. χρὴ γάρ τοὺς
 25 ἡγεμόνας τὰ ἴδια ἐξ ἵσου νέμοντας
 τὰ κοινὰ προσκοπεῖν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις
 ἐκ πάντων προτιμῶνται. ἡμῶν δὲ ὅσοι μὲν 2
 Ἀθηναίοις ἥδη ἐνηλλάγησαν οὐχὶ διδαχῆς

Assembly of
allies at Sparta
to decide the
question of war.

Speech of the
Corinthian
envoy. ‘Athens
is a menace to
all states alike.
Let us not
shrink from
fighting her
now.

δέονται ὥστε φυλάξασθαι αὐτούς· τοὺς δὲ τὴν μεσόγειαν μᾶλλον καὶ μὴ ἐν πόρῳ κατωκημένους εἰδέναι χρὴ ὅτι, τοῖς κάτω ἦν μὴ ἀμύνωσι, χαλεπωτέραν ἔξουσι τὴν κατακομιδὴν τῶν ὡραίων καὶ πάλιν ἀντίληψιν ὡν ἡ⁵ θάλασσα τῇ ἡπείρῳ δίδωσι, καὶ τῶν νῦν λεγομένων μὴ κακοὺς κριτὰς ὡς μὴ προσηκόντων εἰναι, προσδέχεσθαι δέ ποτε, εἰ τὰ κάτω πρόοιντο, κὰν μέχρι σφῶν τὸ δεινὸν προελθεῖν, καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν οὐχ ἡσσον νῦν¹⁰ βουλεύεσθαι. δι’ ὅπερ καὶ μὴ ὀκνεῖν δεῖ αὐτοὺς τὸν πόλεμον ἀντ’ εἰρήνης μεταλαμβάνειν. ἀνδρῶν γὰρ σωφρόνων μέν ἐστιν, εἰ μὴ ἀδικοῦντο, ἡσυχάζειν, ἀγαθῶν δὲ ἀδικουμένους ἐκ μὲν εἰρήνης πολεμεῖν, εὖ δὲ παρασχὸν ἐκ πολέμου πάλιν ξυμβῆναι, καὶ μήτε τῇ κατὰ πόλεμον εὐτυχίᾳ ἐπαίρεσθαι μήτε τῷ 4 ἡσύχῳ τῆς εἰρήνης ἡδόμενον ἀδικεῖσθαι. ὅτε γὰρ διὰ τὴν ἡδονὴν ὀκνῶν τάχιστ’ ἀνἀφαιρεθείη τῆς ῥαστώνης τὸ τερπνὸν δι’ ὅπερ²⁰ ὀκνεῖ, εἰ ἡσυχάζοι, ὅτε ἐν πολέμῳ εὐτυχίᾳ πλεονάζων οὐκ ἐντεθύμηται θράσει ἀπίστῳ 5 ἐπαιρόμενος. πολλὰ γὰρ κακῶς γνωσθέντα ἀβουλοτέρων τῶν ἐναντίων τυχόντα κατωρθώθη, καὶ ἔτι πλείω καλῶς δοκοῦντα βουλευθῆναι ἐς²⁵ τούναντίν αἰσχρῶς περιέστη· ἐνθυμεῖται γὰρ οὐδὲν ὁμοῖα τῇ πίστει καὶ ἔργῳ ἐπεξέρχεται,

10. αὐτῶν F: αὐτῶν cett. 18. ἡσύχῳ C Stobaeus: ἡσυχίῳ cett. 24. τυχόντα CG Stobaeus: τυχόντων cett. 25. post πλειω add. & ABEFM γρ. G, τὰ Stobaeus

ἀλλὰ μετ' ἀσφαλείας μὲν δοξάζομεν, μετὰ δέους δὲ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐλλείπομεν.

“Ημεῖς δὲ νῦν καὶ ἀδικούμενοι τὸν πόλε- 121
 μον ἐγείρομεν καὶ ἵκανὰ ἔχοντες ‘Our prospects
 5 ἐγκλήματα, καὶ ὅταν ἀμυνώμεθα are ~~good~~. Only
 Ἀθηναίους, καταθησόμεθα αὐτὸν ἐν
 καιρῷ. κατὰ πολλὰ δὲ ἡμᾶς εἰκὸς ἐπικρα- 2
 τῆσαι, πρῶτον μὲν πλήθει προύχοντας καὶ
 ἐμπειρίᾳ πολεμικῇ, ἔπειτα ὁμοίως πάντας ἐς
 10 τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ὢντας, ναυτικόν τε, ὡς
 ἰσχύουσιν, ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης τε ἐκάστοις
 οὐσίας ἔξαρτυσόμεθα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς
 καὶ Ὄλυμπίᾳ χρημάτων· δάνεισμα γὰρ ποιησά-
 μενοι ὑπολαβεῖν οἱοί τ’ ἐσμὲν μισθῷ μείζονι
 15 τοὺς ξένους αὐτῶν ναυβάτας. ὧνητὴ γὰρ ἡ
 Ἀθηναίων δύναμις μᾶλλον ἡ οἰκεία· ἡ δὲ
 ἡμετέρα ἡσσον ἀν τοῦτο πάθοι, τοῖς σώμασι
 τὸ πλέον ἰσχύουσα ἡ τοῖς χρήμασιν. μιᾶς τε 4
 νίκης ναυμαχίας κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἀλίσκονται· εἰ
 20 δ’ ἀντίσχοιεν, μελετήσομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν πλέονι
 χρόνῳ τὰ ναυτικά, καὶ ὅταν τὴν ἐπιστήμην
 ἐς τὸ ἵσον καταστήσωμεν, τῇ γε εὐψυχίᾳ
 δήπου περιεσόμεθα. ὃ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν φύσει
 ἀγαθόν, ἐκείνοις οὐκ ἀν γένοιτο διδαχῇ· ὃ δ’
 25 ἐκείνοι επιστήμη προύχουσι, καθαιρετὸν ἡμῖν
 ἐστι μελέτη. χρήματα δὲ ὥστε ἔχειν ἐς αὐτά, 5
 οἴσομεν· ἡ δεινὸν ἀν εἴη εἰ οἱ μὲν ‘We will find
 ἐκείνων ξύμμαχοι ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ τῇ money for the
 war.

12. ἔξαρτυσώμεθα ΑΒΕΦΜ[G]
 25. καθαιρετὸν Σ: καθαιρετέον cett. (corr. G¹) 16. Ἀθηναίων ἡ ΑΒΕΦΜ

αὐτῶν φέροντες οὐκ ἀπεροῦσιν, ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπὶ τῷ τιμωρούμενοι τοὺς ἔχθροὺς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀμασώζεσθαι οὐκ ἄρα δαπανήσομεν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ ὑπ' ἐκείνων αὐτὰ ἀφαιρεθέντες αὐτοῖς

122 τούτοις κακῶς πάσχειν. ὑπάρχουσι δὲ καὶ

'We can induce
their allies to
revolt; and
establish a
hostile post in
their country.

ἄλλαι ὄδοι τοῦ πολέμου ἡμῖν, ξυμμάχων τε ἀπόστασις, μάλιστα παραίρεσις οὖσα τῶν προσόδων αἰς ἴσχύουσι, καὶ ἐπιτειχισμὸς τῇ χώρᾳ, ἄλλα τε ὅσα οὐκ ἀν τις νῦν προΐδοι. 10 ἥκιστα γὰρ πόλεμος ἐπὶ ρήτοῖς χωρεῖ, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀφ' αὐτοῦ τὰ πολλὰ τεχνάται πρὸς τὸ παρατυγχάνον· ἐν φῷ ὁ μὲν εὐοργήτως αὐτῷ προσομιλήσας βεβαιότερος, ὁ δὲ ὀργισθεὶς περὶ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐλάσσω πταίει.

15

2 "Ἐνθυμώμεθα δὲ καὶ ὅτι εἰ μὲν ἡμῶν ἥσαν

'We must unite
and work
together to pull
down the tyrant.

έκάστοις πρὸς ἀντιπάλους περὶ γῆς ὅρων αἱ διαφοραί, οἰστὸν ἀν ἥν. νῦν δὲ πρὸς ξύμπαντάς τε ἡμᾶς

'Αθηναῖοι ἴκανοὶ καὶ κατὰ πόλιν ἔτι δυνα- 20 τώτεροι, ὅστε εἰ μὴ καὶ ἀθρόοι καὶ κατὰ ἔθνη καὶ ἔκαστον ἄστυ μιᾶ γνώμη ἀμυνούμεθα αὐτούς, δίχα γε ὅντας ἡμᾶς ἀπόνως χειρώσονται. καὶ τὴν ἥσσαν, εἰ καὶ δεινόν τῷ ἀκοῦσαι, ἵστω οὐκ ἄλλο τι φέρουσαν ἢ ἀντικρυς 25

3 δουλείαν. ὁ καὶ λόγω ἐνδοιασθῆναι αἰσχρὸν

'We have been
remiss and
foolish in not
interfering.

τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ καὶ πόλεις τοσάσδε ὑπὸ μιᾶς κακοπαθεῖν. ἐν φῷ ἡ δικαίως δοκοῦμεν ἀν πάσχειν ἢ διὰ

16. καὶ om. CG || ἥσαν ἡμῶν ABEFM

18. αἱ om. ABEFM

δειλίαν ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ τῶν πατέρων χείρους φαίνεσθαι, οἱ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἡλευθέρωσαν· ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐδὲν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς βεβαιοῦμεν αὐτό, τύραννον δὲ ἔωμεν ἐγκαθεστάναι πόλιν, τοὺς δὲ ἐν μιᾷ μονάρχους ἀξιοῦμεν καταλύειν. καὶ οὐκ ἵσμεν⁴ ὅπως τάδε τριῶν τῶν μεγίστων ξυμφορῶν ἀπήλλακται, ἀξυνεσίας ἡ μαλακίας ἡ ἀμελείας. οὐ γὰρ δὴ πεφευγότες αὐτὰ ἐπὶ τὴν πλείστους δὴ βλάψασαν καταφρόνησιν κεχωρήκατε, ἡ ἐκ 10 τοῦ πολλοὺς σφάλλειν τὸ ἐναντίον ὄνομα ἀφροσύνη μετωνόμασται. τὰ μὲν οὖν προ- 123 γεγενημένα τί δεῖ μακρότερον ἡ ἐσ- ὅσον τοῖς νῦν ξυμφέρει αἰτιᾶσθαι; περὶ δὲ τῶν ἔπειτα μελλόντων

‘But now with encouragement on all sides, let us enter on a just war.

15 τοῖς παροῦσι βοηθοῦντας χρὴ ἐπιταλαιπωρεῦν (πάτριον γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐκ τῶν πόνων τὰς ἀρετὰς κτᾶσθαι), καὶ μὴ μεταβάλλειν τὸ ἔθος, εἰ ἄρα πλούτῳ τε νῦν καὶ ἔξουσίᾳ ὀλίγον προφέρετε (οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον ἂ τῇ ἀπορίᾳ ἐκτήθη τῇ 20 περιουσίᾳ ἀπολέσθαι), ἀλλὰ θαρσοῦντας ἵέναι κατὰ πολλὰ ἐσ τὸν πόλεμον, τοῦ τε θεοῦ χρήσαντος καὶ αὐτοῦ ὑποσχομένου ξυλλήψεσθαι καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἀπάσης ξυναγωνιουμένης, τὰ μὲν φόβῳ, τὰ δὲ ὠφελίᾳ.

25 σπονδάς τε οὐ λύσετε πρότεροι, ἃς γε καὶ ὁ 2 θεὸς κελεύων πολεμεῖν νομίζει παραβεβάσθαι, ἥδικημέναις δὲ μᾶλλον βοηθήσετε· λύουσι γὰρ οὐχ οἱ ἀμυνόμενοι, ἀλλ’ οἱ πρότεροι ἐπιόντες.

8. ταῦτα ΑΒΕΦΜ[G]
fGM : θαρσοῦντες eett.

16. ἡμῖν Ο[G]
23. πάσης ΑΒΕΦΜ

20. θαρσοῦντας

124 ““Ωστε πανταχόθεν καλῶς ὑπάρχον ὑμῖν πολεμεῖν καὶ ἡμῶν κοινῆ τάδε παραινούντων, εἴπερ βεβαιότατον τὸ ταῦτα ξυμφέροντα καὶ πόλεσι καὶ ἴδιώταις εἶναι, μὴ μέλλετε Ποτει- 5

‘Let us then in the common interest help Potidaea, and through war find peace and liberty for all.’

δεάταις τε ποιεῖσθαι τιμωρίαν οὖσι Δωριεῦσι καὶ ὑπὸ Ἰώνων πολιορκουμένοις, οὐ πρότερον ἦν τούναντίον, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μετελθεῖν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ὡς οὐκέτι ἐνδέχεται περιμένοντας τοὺς μὲν ἥδη βλάπτεσθαι, τοὺς δ', εἰ 10 γνωσθησόμεθα ξυνελθόντες μέν, ἀμύνεσθαι δὲ οὐ τολμῶντες, μὴ πολὺ ὕστερον τὸ αὐτὸν 2 πάσχειν· ἀλλὰ νομίσαντες ἐς ἀνάγκην ἀφῆσθαι, ὡς ἄνδρες ξύμμαχοι, καὶ ἅμα τάδε ἄριστα λέγεσθαι, ψηφίσασθε τὸν πόλεμον μὴ φοβη- 15 θέντες τὸ αὐτίκα δεινόν, τῆς δ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ διὰ πλείους εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμήσαντες· ἐκ πολέμου μὲν γὰρ εἰρήνη μᾶλλον βεβαιοῦται, ἀφ' ἡσυχίας δὲ μὴ πολεμῆσαι οὐχ ὄμοίως ἀκίν- 3 δυνον. καὶ τὴν καθεστηκυῖαν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι 20 πόλιν τύραννον ἡγησάμενοι ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὄμοίως καθεστάναι, ὥστε τῶν μὲν ἥδη ἄρχειν, τῶν δὲ διανοεῖσθαι, παραστησώμεθα ἐπελθόντες, καὶ αὐτοί τε ἀκινδύνως τὸ λοιπὸν οἰκῶμεν καὶ τοὺς νῦν δεδουλωμένους “Ἑλληνας ἐλευθερώσω- 25 μεν.” τοιαῦτα μὲν οἱ Κορίνθιοι εἶπον.

125 Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπειδὴ ἀφ' ἀπάντων

2. τάδε κοινῆ ABEFM 12. οὐ τολμῶντες] ἀτολμῶντες
CEG: ἀτολμῶντες supraser. F γρ. G 13. ἐπ' CG 23.
παραστησώμεθα BCG 24. τε om. ABEFM 26. μὲν
om. ABEFM

ῆκουσαν γνώμην, ψῆφον ἐπίγγαγον τοῖς ξυμ-
μάχοις ἄπασιν ὅσοι παρῆσαν ἔξῆς,
καὶ μείζονι καὶ ἐλάσσονι πόλει· καὶ
τὸ πλῆθος ἐψηφίσαντο πολεμεῖν.
δεδογμένον δὲ αὐτοῖς εὐθὺς μὲν ἀδύνατα ἦν 2
ἐπιχειρεῖν ἀπαρασκεύοις οὖσιν, ἐκπορίζεσθαι δὲ
ἔδοκει ἑκάστοις ἀ πρόσφορα ἦν καὶ μὴ εἶναι
μέλλησιν. ὅμως δὲ καθισταμένοις ὧν ἔδει
ἐνιαυτὸς μὲν οὐ διετρίβη, ἐλασσον δέ, πρὶν
10 ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ τὸν
πόλεμον ἄρασθαι φανερῶς. ἐν τούτῳ
δὲ ἐπρεσβεύοντο τῷ χρόνῳ πρὸς
τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐγκλήματα ποιού-
μενοι, ὅπως σφίσιν ὅτι μεγίστη
15 πρόφασις εἴη τοῦ πολεμεῖν, ἦν μή τι ἐσα-
κούωσιν.

Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν πρέσβεις πέμψαντες οἱ 2
Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐκέλευον τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὸ
ἄγος ἐλαύνειν τῆς θεοῦ· τὸ δὲ ἄγος ἦν
20 τοιόνδε. Κύλων ἦν Ἀθηναῖος ἀνὴρ Ὁλυμ- 3
πιονίκης τῶν πάλαι εὐγενῆς τε καὶ δυνατός,
ἐγεγαμήκει δὲ θυγατέρα Θεαγένους Μεγαρέως
ἀνδρός, ὃς κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἐτυράννει
Μεγάρων. χρωμένῳ δὲ τῷ Κύλωνι ἐν Δελφοῖς 4
ἀνεῖλεν ὁ θεὸς ἐν τοῦ Διὸς τῇ μεγίστῃ ἑορτῇ
καταλαβεῖν τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἀκρόπολιν. ὁ δὲ 5
παρά τε τοῦ Θεαγένους δύναμιν λαβὼν καὶ τοὺς

The majority is
for war. Pre-
parations were
begun, but took
nearly a year.

An embassy
sent to Athens
to demand the
expulsion of
'the accursed.'
Origin of this
affair: the story
of Cylon.

126

7. ἑκάστους Nattmann 15. ἐσακούσωσι F (vel f) GM
20. Ὁλυμπιονίκης ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος ABEFM 25. post ἐν add.
τῷ ABEFM

φίλους ἀναπείσας, ἐπειδὴ ἐπῆλθεν Ὀλύμπια τὰ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ, κατέλαβε τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ὡς ἐπὶ τυραννίδι, νομίσας ἑορτήν τε τοῦ Διὸς μεγίστην εἶναι καὶ ἔαυτῷ τι προσήκειν 6 Ὀλύμπια νενικηκότι. εἰ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἦ 5 ἄλλοθί που ἡ μεγίστη ἑορτὴ εἱρητο, οὐτε ἐκεῖνος ἔτι κατενόησε τό τε μαντεῖον οὐκ ἐδήλου (ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις Διάσια ἀ καλεῖται Διὸς ἑορτὴ Μειλιχίου μεγίστη ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, ἐν ἦ πανδημεὶ θύουσι πολλὰ οὐχ 10 ἴερεῖα, ἀλλ’ ἄγνα θύματα ἐπιχώρια), δοκῶν 7 δὲ ὄρθως γιγνώσκειν ἐπεχείρησε τῷ ἔργῳ. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι αἰσθόμενοι ἐβοήθησάν τε πανδημεὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς καὶ προσκαθ- 8 εξόμενοι ἐπολιόρκουν. χρόνου δὲ ἐγγιγνομένου 15 οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τρυχόμενοι τῇ προσεδρίᾳ ἀπῆλθον οἱ πολλοί, ἐπιτρέψαντες τοῖς ἐννέα ἄρχουσι τήν τε φυλακὴν καὶ τὸ πᾶν αὐτοκράτορσι διαθεῖναι ἢ ἀν ἄριστα διαγιγνώσκωσιν. τότε δὲ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν πολιτικῶν οἱ ἐννέα ἄρχοντες 20 9 ἐπρασσον, οἱ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Κύλωνος πολιορκούμενοι φλαύρως εἶχον σίτου τε καὶ ὕδατος 10 ἀπορίᾳ. ὁ μὲν οὖν Κύλων καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ἐκδιδράσκουσιν. οἱ δ’ ἄλλοι ὡς ἐπιέζοντο καὶ τινες καὶ ἀπέθνησκον ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ, 25 καθίζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἰκέται τὸν ἐν τῇ

1. ἐπῆλθον ABFM	10. πολλὰ C. F. Hermann: πολλοὶ
codd.	
11. ἄγνα ex Polluce add. Hemsterhuis	12. τῷ
ἔργῳ . . . ii. 13. 7 τείχους suppl. in foll. xxv-xxxiii	15. ἐπι-
γιγνομένου ABEF γρ. G	18. τε om. ABEF
om. CG	24. αὐτοῦ

ἀκροπόλει. ἀναστήσαντες δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ τῶν 11
 'Αθηναίων ἐπιτετραμμένοι τὴν φυλακήν, ὡς
 ἔωρων ἀποθνήσκοντας ἐν τῷ ἵερῷ, ἐφ' ὃ
 μηδὲν κακὸν ποιήσουσιν, ἀπαγαγόντες ἀπέ-
 5 κτειναν· καθεξομένους δέ τινας καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν
 σεμνῶν θεῶν τοῖς βωμοῖς ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ ἀπεχρή-
 σαντο. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου ἐναγεῖς καὶ ἀλιτήριοι
 τῆς θεοῦ ἐκεῖνοι τε ἐκαλοῦντο καὶ τὸ γένος τὸ
 ἀπ' ἐκείνων. ἥλασαν μὲν οὖν καὶ οἱ 'Αθηναῖοι 12
 10 τοὺς ἐναγεῖς τούτους, ἥλασε δὲ καὶ Κλεομένης
 ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ὕστερον μετὰ 'Αθηναίων
 στασιαζόντων, τούς τε ζῶντας ἐλαύνοντες καὶ
 τῶν τεθνεώτων τὰ δοτᾶ ἀνελόντες ἐξέβαλον·
 κατῆλθον μέντοι ὕστερον, καὶ τὸ γένος αὐτῶν
 15 ἔστιν ἔτι ἐν τῇ πόλει. τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἄγος 127
 οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐκέλευνον ἐλαύνειν
 δῆθεν τοῖς θεοῖς πρῶτον τιμωροῦντες, The true object
 εἰδότες δὲ Περικλέα τὸν Ξανθίππου
 was to make
 Pericles un-
 popular.
 προσεχόμενον αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν μητέρα καὶ
 20 νομίζοντες ἐκπεσόντος αὐτοῦ ῥάον <ἄν> σφίσι
 προχωρεῖν τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν 'Αθηναίων. οὐ μέντοι 2
 τοσοῦτον ἥλπιζον παθεῖν ἀν αὐτὸν τοῦτο ὅσον
 διαβολὴν οἴσειν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ὡς καὶ
 διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου ξυμφορὰν τὸ μέρος ἔσται ὁ
 25 πόλεμος. ὃν γὰρ δυνατώτατος τῶν καθ' 3
 ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἄγων τὴν πολιτείαν ἡναντιοῦτο πάν-
 τα τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, καὶ οὐκ εἴα ὑπείκειν,
 ἀλλ' ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ὄρμα τοὺς 'Αθηναίους.

6. post θεῶν add. ἐν ΑΒΕΓ || ἀπεχρήσαντο Σ: διεχρήσαντο
 cett. : ἀνεχρήσαντο Lexx. 15. ἔτι ἔστιν Σ[Γ] 20. ἀν
 add. Stahl

128 'Αντεκέλευον δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς

The Athenians
retort by
demanding the
expulsion of
two 'curses.'
This demand
gives occasion
for an account
of the treason
and death of
Pausanias.

Λακεδαιμονίους τὸ ἀπὸ Ταινάρου
ἄγος ἐλαύνειν· οἱ γὰρ Λακεδαι-
μόνιοι ἀναστήσαντές ποτε ἐκ τοῦ
ἱεροῦ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος [ἀπὸ Ταινάρου] 5
τῶν Εἰλώτων ἰκέτας ἀπαγαγόντες
διέφθειραν, δι' ὃ δὴ καὶ σφίσιν

αὐτοὺς νομίζουσι τὸν μέγαν σεισμὸν γενέσθαι
2 ἐν Σπάρτη. ἐκέλευον δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς Χαλκιοίκου
ἄγος ἐλαύνειν αὐτούς· ἐγένετο δὲ τοιόνδε. 10

3 ἐπειδὴ Παυσανίας ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος τὸ πρῶτον
μεταπεμψθεὶς ὑπὸ Σπαρτιατῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς
τῆς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ καὶ κριθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν
ἀπελύθη μὴ ἀδικεῖν, δημοσίᾳ μὲν οὐκέτι ἐξε-
πέμφθη, ἵδιᾳ δὲ αὐτὸς τριήρη λαβὼν Ἐρμιονίδα 15
ἄνευ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Ἑλλήσπον-
τον, τῷ μὲν λόγῳ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν πόλεμον,
τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ τὰ πρὸς βασιλέα πράγματα
πράσσειν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐπεχείρησεν,
4 ἐφιέμενος τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἀρχῆς. εὐεργεσίαν 20
δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε πρῶτον ἐς βασιλέα κατέθετο
καὶ τοῦ παντὸς πράγματος ἀρχὴν ἐποιήσατο.

5 Βυζάντιον γὰρ ἐλὼν τῇ προτέρᾳ παρουσίᾳ
μετὰ τὴν ἐκ Κύπρου ἀναχώρησιν (εἶχον δὲ
Μῆδοι αὐτὸν καὶ βασιλέως προσήκουντές τινες 25
καὶ ξυγγενεῖς οἱ ἑάλωσαν ἐν αὐτῷ) τότε
τούτους οὖς ἐλαβεν ἀποπέμπει βασιλεῖ κρύφα

5. ἀπὸ Ταινάρου secl. Herwerden
Gebhardt 18. post ἔργῳ add. βουλόμενος CG
εχείρησεν ΑΒΕΓ 17. Ἑλληνικὸν] Μηδικὸν
19. ἐν-

τῶν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων, τῷ δὲ λόγῳ ἀπέδρασαν αὐτόν. ἐπρασσε δὲ ταῦτα μετὰ Γογγύλου τοῦ 6 Ἐρετριῶς, φέρετρεψε τό τε Βυζάντιον καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους. ἐπεμψε δὲ καὶ ἐπιστολὴν τὸν Γόγγυλον φέροντα αὐτῷ. ἐνεγέγραπτο δὲ τάδε ἐν αὐτῇ, ώς ὑστερον ἀνηυρέθη. “Παυ- 7 σανίας ὁ ἡγεμὸν τῆς Σπάρτης τούσδε τέ σοι χαρίζεσθαι βουλόμενος ἀπο-
Pausanias writes to Xerxes.
 πέμπει δορὶ ἑλών, καὶ γνώμην ποιοῦμαι, εἰ 10 καὶ σοὶ δοκεῖ, θυγατέρα τε τὴν σὴν γῆμαι καὶ σοὶ Σπάρτην τε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα ὑποχείριον ποιῆσαι. δυνατὸς δὲ δοκῶ εἶναι ταῦτα πρᾶξαι μετὰ σοῦ βουλευόμενος. εἰ οὖν τί σε τούτων ἀρέσκει, πέμπε ἄνδρα πιστὸν 15 ἐπὶ θάλασσαν δι' οὐ τὸ λοιπὸν τοὺς λόγους ποιησόμεθα.” τοσαῦτα μὲν ἡ γραφὴ ἐδήλου, 129 Ξέρξης δὲ ἡσθη τε τῇ ἐπιστολῇ Xerxes accepted his proposals. καὶ ἀποστέλλει Ἀρτάβαζον τὸν

Φαρνάκου ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καὶ κελεύει αὐτὸν 20 τὴν τε Δασκυλῖτιν σατραπείαν παραλαβεῖν Μεγαβάτην ἀπαλλάξαντα, ὃς πρότερον ἦρχε, καὶ παρὰ Παυσανίαν ἐς Βυζάντιον ἐπιστολὴν ἀντεπετίθει αὐτῷ ώς τάχιστα διαπέμψαι καὶ τὴν σφραγίδα ἀποδεῖξαι, καὶ ἦν τι αὐτῷ 25 Παυσανίας παραγγέλλῃ περὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πραγμάτων, πράσσειν ώς ἄριστα καὶ πιστότατα. ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος τά τε ἄλλα ἐποίησεν 2 ωσπερ εἴρητο καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν διέπεμψεν.

3 ἀντενεγέγραπτο δὲ τάδε· “ ὡδε λέγει βασιλεὺς
 Ξέρξης Παυσανίᾳ, καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὓς μοι
 πέραν θαλάσσης ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἔσωσας κείσεται
 σοι εὐεργεσία ἐν τῷ ἡμετέρῳ οἴκῳ ἐς αἰεὶ⁵
 ἀνάγραπτος, καὶ τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς ἀπὸ σοῦ
 ἀρέσκομαι. καὶ σε μήτε νὺξ μήθ’ ἡμέρα
 ἐπισχέτω ὥστε ἀνεῖναι πράσσειν τι ὃν ἐμοὶ
 ὑπισχνῆ, μηδὲ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου δαπάνη¹⁰
 κεκωλύθω μηδὲ στρατιᾶς πλήθει, εἴ ποι δεῖ
 παραγίγνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ μετ’ Ἀρταβάζου ἀνδρὸς
 ἀγαθοῦ, ὃν σοι ἔπειμψα, πρᾶσσε θαρσῶν καὶ
 τὰ ἐμὰ καὶ τὰ σὰ ὅπῃ κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα
 130 ἔξει ἀμφοτέροις.” ταῦτα λαβὼν ὁ Παυσανίας

This greatly
 encouraged
 Pausanias in his
 arrogance and
 Persian ways,
 and led to the
 allies going over
 to Athens.

τὰ γράμματα, ὃν καὶ πρότερον ἐν
 μεγάλῳ ἀξιώματι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων¹⁵
 διὰ τὴν Πλαταιᾶσιν ἡγεμονίαν,
 πολλῷ τότε μᾶλλον ἥρτο καὶ
 οὐκέτι ἐδύνατο ἐν τῷ καθεστῶτι
 τρόπῳ βιοτεύειν, ἀλλὰ σκευάς τε Μηδικὰς
 ἐνδυόμενος ἐκ τοῦ Βυζαντίου ἔξήει καὶ διὰ τῆς²⁰
 Θράκης πορευόμενον αὐτὸν Μῆδοι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι
 ἐδορυφόρουν, τράπεζάν τε Περσικὴν παρετίθετο
 καὶ κατέχειν τὴν διάνοιαν οὐκ ἐδύνατο, ἀλλ’
 ἔργοις βραχέσι προυδήλου ἢ τῇ γνώμῃ μειζόνως
 2 ἐς ἔπειτα ἐμελλε πράξειν. δυσπρόσοδόν τε²⁵
 αὐτὸν παρεῖχε καὶ τῇ ὄργῃ οὕτω χαλεπῇ
 ἐχρῆτο ἐς πάντας ὁμοίως ὥστε μηδένα δύνασθαι

1. ἀντενεγέγραπτο Herwerden: ἀντεπεγέγραπτο CG: ἀντε-
 γέγραπτο cett. 3. κεῖται AB 14. πρότερον] πρῶτον CG
 18. καθεστηκότι ABEF

προσιέναι· δι' ὅπερ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους
οὐχ ἥκιστα ἡ ξυμμαχία μετέστη.

Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι αἰσθόμενοι τό τε 131
πρῶτον δι' αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἀνεκάλεσαν
5 αὐτόν, καὶ ἐπειδὴ τῇ Ἐρμιονίδι
νηὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἐκπλεύσας οὐ κελευ-
σάντων αὐτῶν τοιαῦτα ἐφαίνετο ποιῶν, καὶ ἐκ
τοῦ Βυζαντίου βίᾳ ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἐκπολιορκη-
θεὶς ἐς μὲν τὴν Σπάρτην οὐκ ἐπανεχώρει, ἐς
10 δὲ Κολωνὰς τὰς Τρωάδας ιδρυθεὶς πράσσων
τε ἐσηγγέλλετο αὐτοῖς ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους καὶ
οὐκ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τὴν μονὴν ποιούμενος, οὕτω δὴ
οὐκέτι ἐπέσχον, ἀλλὰ πέμψαντες κήρυκα οἱ
ἔφοροι καὶ σκυτάλην εἰπον τοῦ κήρυκος μὴ
15 λείπεσθαι, εἰ δὲ μή, πόλεμον αὐτῷ Σπαρτιάτας
προαγορεύειν. οὐ δὲ βουλόμενος ώς ἥκιστα 2
ὑποπτος εἶναι καὶ πιστεύων χρήμασι διαλύσειν
τὴν διαβολὴν ἀνεχώρει τὸ δεύτερον ἐς Σπάρτην.
καὶ ἐς μὲν τὴν είρκτὴν ἐσπίπτει τὸ πρῶτον
20 ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφόρων (ἔξεστι δὲ τοῖς ἐφόροις τὸν
βασιλέα δρᾶσαι τοῦτο), ἐπειτα διαπραξάμενος
ὑστερον ἐξῆλθε καὶ καθίστησιν ἑαυτὸν ἐς
κρίσιν τοῖς βουλομένοις περὶ αὐτῶν ἐλέγχειν.
καὶ φανερὸν μὲν εἰχον οὐδὲν οἱ
25 Σπαρτιάται σημεῖον, οὔτε οἱ ἐχθροὶ
οὔτε ἡ πᾶσα πόλις, ὅτῳ ἀν πιστεύ-
σαντες Βεβαίως ἐτιμωροῦντο ἄνδρα
γένους τε τοῦ βασιλείου ὅντα καὶ
ἐν τῷ παρόντι τιμὴν ἔχοντα (Πλεί-

Pausanias
recalled. He
went out again,
but was sent for
and arrested.

132

The evidence
against him was
not thought
conclusive until
a messenger
entrusted with
a letter to the
Persian king
informed the
ephors.

σταρχον γὰρ τὸν Λεωνίδου ὅντα βασιλέα καὶ 2 νέον ἔτι ἀνεψιὸς ὃν ἐπετρόπευεν), ὑποψίας δὲ πολλὰς παρεῖχε τῇ τε παρανομίᾳ καὶ ζηλώσει τῶν βαρβάρων μὴ ἵσος βούλεσθαι εἶναι τοῖς παροῦσι, τά τε ἄλλα αὐτοῦ ἀνεσκόπουν, εἴ τὸ 5 που ἔξεδεδιήτητο τῶν καθεστώτων νομίμων, καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ τὸν τρίποδά ποτε τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς, δν ἀνέθεοαν οἱ Ἑλληνες ἀπὸ τῶν Μήδων ἀκροθίνιον, ἡξίωσεν ἐπιγράψασθαι αὐτὸς ἵδια τὸ ἐλεγεῖον τόδε. 10

Ἐλλήνων ἀρχηγὸς ἐπεὶ στρατὸν ὢλεσε Μήδων
Παυσανίας Φοίβῳ μνῆμ’ ἀνέθηκε τόδε.

3 τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐλεγεῖον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἔξεκόλαψαν εὐθὺς τότε ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίποδος τοῦτο καὶ ἐπέγραψαν ὀνομαστὶ τὰς πόλεις ὅσαι 15 ἔνυγκαθελοῦσαι τὸν βάρβαρον ἔστησαν τὸ ἀνάθημα· τοῦ μέντοι Παυσανίου ἀδίκημα καὶ τότ’ ἐδόκει εἶναι, καὶ ἐπεὶ γε δὴ ἐν τούτῳ καθειστήκει, πολλῷ μᾶλλον παρόμοιον πραχθῆναι 4 ἐφαίνετο τῇ παρούσῃ διανοίᾳ. ἐπινθάνοντο δὲ 20 καὶ ἐς τοὺς Εἰλωτας πράσσειν τι αὐτόν, καὶ ἦν δὲ οὕτως· ἐλευθέρωσίν τε γὰρ ὑπισχνεῖτο αὐτοῖς καὶ πολιτείαν, ἦν ἔνυγκαπαναστῶσι καὶ 5 τὸ πᾶν ἔνυγκατεργάσωνται. ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ ὡς οὐδὲ τῶν Εἰλώτων μηνυταῖς τισι πιστεύσαντες 25 ἡξίωσαν νεώτερόν τι ποιεῖν ἐς αὐτόν, χρώμενοι τῷ τρόπῳ φπερ εἰώθασιν ἐς σφᾶς αὐτούς, μὴ ταχεῖς εἶναι περὶ ἀνδρὸς Σπαρτιάτου ἄνευ

17. τότ’ Struve: τοῦτ’ codd.

18. ἐπεὶ γε δὴ C: ἐπειδὴ cett.

ἀναμφισβητήτων τεκμηρίων βουλεῦσαι τι ἀνή-
κεστον, πρίν γε δὴ αὐτοῖς, ὡς λέγεται, ὁ
μέλλων τὰς τελευταίας βασιλεῖ ἐπιστολὰς πρὸς
Ἄρταβαζον κομιεῖν, ἀνὴρ Ἀργίλιος, παιδικά
5 ποτε ὧν αὐτοῦ καὶ πιστότατος ἐκείνῳ, μηνυτής
γίγνεται, δείσας κατὰ ἐνθύμησίν τινα ὅτι οὐδείς
πω τῶν πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἀγγέλων πάλιν ἀφίκετο,
καὶ παρασημηνάμενος σφραγίδα, ἵνα, ἦν ψευσθῆ
τῆς δόξης ἡ καὶ ἐκεῖνός τι μεταγράψαι αἰτήσῃ,
10 μὴ ἐπιγνῷ, λύει τὰς ἐπιστολάς, ἐν αἷς ὑπο-
νοήσας τι τοιοῦτον προσεπεστάλθαι καὶ αὐτὸν
ηὑρεν ἐγγεγραμμένον κτείνειν. τότε δὴ οἱ ἔφοροι 133
δείξαντος αὐτοῦ τὰ γράμματα μᾶλλον
μὲν ἐπίστευσαν, αὐτήκοοι δὲ βουλη-
15 θέντες ἔτι γενέσθαι αὐτοῦ Παυσανίου
τι λέγοντος, ἀπὸ παρασκευῆς τοῦ
ἀνθρώπου ἐπὶ Ταίναρον ἵκέτου οἰχο-
μένου καὶ σκηνησαμένου διπλῆν διαφράγματι
καλύβην, ἐς ἦν τῶν [τε] ἔφόρων ἐντός τινας
20 ἔκρυψε, καὶ Παυσανίου ὡς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντος
καὶ ἐρωτῶντος τὴν πρόφασιν τῆς ἵκετείας
ἥσθοντο πάντα σαφῶς, αἰτιωμένου τοῦ ἀνθρώ-
που τά τε περὶ αὐτοῦ γραφέντα καὶ τάλλ’
ἀποφαίνοντος καθ’ ἔκαστον, ὡς οὐδὲν πώποτε
25 αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς πρὸς βασιλέα διακονίαις παρ-
βάλοιτο, προτιμηθείη δ’ ἐν ἵσῳ τοῖς πολλοῖς
τῶν διακόνων ἀποθανεῖν, κἀκείνου αὐτά τε

The ephors
contrived to
overhear a
treasonable
conversation
between
Pausanias and
the messenger.

8. παρασημηνάμενος Pollux: παραποιησάμενος codd.
αὐτὸν Stephanus: αὐτὸν codd. 11. δὲ AEF 19. τε
secl. Poppo 27. τε om. ABEF

ταῦτα ξυνομολογοῦντος καὶ περὶ τοῦ παρόντος
οὐκ ἔῶντος ὀργίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πίστιν ἐκ τοῦ
ἱεροῦ διδόντος τῆς ἀναστάσεως καὶ ἀξιοῦντος
ώς τάχιστα πορεύεσθαι καὶ μὴ τὰ πρασσόμενα

134 διακωλύειν. ἀκούσαντες δὲ ἀκριβῶς τότε μὲν 5
Pausanias took
refuge in sacred
place, and was
starved to
death.

ἀπῆλθον οἱ ἔφοροι, Βεβαίως δὲ ἥδη
εἰδότες ἐν τῇ πόλει τὴν ξύλληψιν
ἐποιοῦντο. λέγεται δὲ αὐτὸν μέλλοντα

ξυλληφθήσεσθαι ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ, ἐνὸς μὲν τῶν
ἔφόρων τὸ πρόσωπον προσιόντος ως εἶδε, γνῶναι 10
ἔφ' ως ἔχώρει, ἄλλου δὲ νεύματι ἀφανεῖ χρη-
σαμένου καὶ δηλώσαντος εὔνοιᾳ πρὸς τὸ ἱερὸν
τῆς Χαλκιοίκου χωρῆσαι δρόμῳ καὶ προκατα-
φυγεῖν· ἦν δὲ ἐγγὺς τὸ τέμενος. καὶ ἐς οἴκημα
οὐ μέγα δὲ ἦν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐσελθών, ἵνα μὴ 15
2 ὑπαίθριος ταλαιπωροίη, ἡσύχαζεν. οἱ δὲ τὸ
παραυτίκα μὲν ὑστέρησαν τῇ διώξει, μετὰ δὲ
τοῦτο τοῦ τε οἰκήματος τὸν ὄροφον ἀφεῖλον
καὶ τὰς θύρας ἐνδον ὅντα τηρήσαντες αὐτὸν
καὶ ἀπολαβόντες εἰσω ἀπφοδόμησαν, προσ- 20
3 καθεξόμενοί τε ἐξεπολιόρκησαν λιμῷ. καὶ
μέλλοντος αὐτοῦ ἀποφύχειν ὥσπερ εἶχεν ἐν
τῷ οἰκήματι, αἰσθόμενοι ἐξάγουσιν ἐκ τοῦ
ἱεροῦ ἔτι ἐμπνουν ὅντα, καὶ ἐξαχθεὶς ἀπέθανε
4 παραχρῆμα. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐμέλλησαν μὲν ἐς τὸν 25
Καιάδαν, [οὐπερ τοὺς κακούργους,] ἐσβάλλειν.
ἔπειτα ἔδοξε πλησίον που κατορύξαι. ὁ δὲ

4. τὰ om. CG 23. post αἰσθόμενοι add. τε ABEF
26. [οὐπερ τοὺς κακούργους] ut videtur, non legit Schol., seclusi ||
ειώθασιν (C) vel ειώθεσαν (-εισαν) vel ante vel post ἐσβάλλειν
add. CFG suprascr. AB: ἐμβάλλειν ABF: ἐμβαλεῖν E

θεὸς ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖς τόν τε τάφον ὑστερον
ἔχρησε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις μετενεγκεῖν οὐπερ
ἀπέθανε (καὶ νῦν κεῖται ἐν τῷ προτεμενίσματι,
ὅ γραφῇ στῆλαι δηλοῦσι) καὶ ως ἄγος αὐτοῖς
5 ὃν τὸ πεπραγμένον δύο σώματα ἀνθ' ἐνὸς τῇ
Χαλκιοίκῳ ἀποδοῦναι. οἱ δὲ ποιησάμενοι
χαλκοῦς ἀνδριάντας δύο ως ἀντὶ Παυσανίου
ἀνέθεσαν. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, ως καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ 135
ἄγος κρίναντος, ἀντεπέταξαν τοῖς
10 Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐλαύνειν αὐτό.

Τοῦ δὲ μηδισμοῦ τοῦ Παυσανίου οἱ
Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρέσβεις πέμψαντες
παρὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ξυνεπηγιώντο καὶ τὸν
Θεμιστοκλέα, ως ηὗρισκον ἐκ τῶν περὶ Παυ-
15 σανίαν ἐλέγχων, ἡξίουν τε τοῖς αὐτοῖς κολάζε-
σθαι αὐτόν. οἱ δὲ πεισθέντες (ἔτυχε γὰρ 3
ωστρακισμένος καὶ ἔχων δίαιταν μὲν ἐν Ἀργει,
ἐπιφοιτῶν δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἄλλην Πελοπόννησον)
πέμπουσι μετὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἔτοιμων
20 δυτῶν ξυνδιώκειν ἄνδρας οἱς εἴρητο ἄγειν ὅπου
ἄν περιτύχωσιν. ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς προαισθό- 136
μενος φεύγει ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ἐς
Κέρκυραν, ὃν αὐτῶν εὐεργέτης. δε-
διέναι δὲ φασκόντων Κέρκυραίων
25 ἔχειν αὐτὸν ὥστε Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις
ἀπεχθέσθαι, διακομίζεται ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν
ἡπειρον τὴν καταντικρύ. καὶ διωκόμενος ὑπὸ 2
τῶν προστεταγμένων κατὰ πύστιν ἥ χωροίη,

It was
found that
Themistocles
was involved.
He had been
ostracised.

2

He now fled to
Corcyra, and
thence to
Admetus, king
of the Molossi.

11. οἱ οἱ. ΑΒΕΦ 14. περὶ Παυσανίαν] Παυσανίου Ο
26. ἀπεχθέσθαι fort. legit Schol.: ἀπέχθεσθαι codd.

ἀναγκάζεται κατά τι ἄπορον παρὰ Ἀδμητον
τὸν Μολοσσῶν βασιλέα δύντα αὐτῷ οὐ φίλον
3 καταλῦσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐκ ἔτυχεν ἐπιδημῶν,
ό δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς ἵκέτης γενόμενος διδάσκεται
ὑπ' αὐτῆς τὸν παῖδα σφῶν λαβὼν καθέζεσθαι 5
4 ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίαν. καὶ ἐλθόντος οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον
τοῦ Ἀδμήτου δηλοῦ τε ὅς ἐστι καὶ οὐκ ἀξιοῦ,
εἴ τι ἄρα αὐτὸς ἀντεῖπεν αὐτῷ Ἀθηναίων
δεομένῳ, φεύγοντα τιμωρεῖσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ἀν
ὑπ' ἐκείνου πολλῷ ἀσθενεστέρου ἐν τῷ παρόντι 10
κακῶς πάσχειν, γενναῖον δὲ εἶναι τοὺς ὅμοίους
ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵσου τιμωρεῖσθαι. καὶ ἅμα αὐτὸς
μὲν ἐκείνῳ χρείας τινὸς καὶ οὐκ ἐς τὸ σῶμα
σώζεσθαι ἐναντιωθῆναι, ἐκεῖνον δ' ἄν, εἰ ἐκδοίη
αὐτόν (εἰπὼν ὑφ' ὧν καὶ ἐφ' ὧ διώκεται), 15
137 σωτηρίας ἀν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποστερῆσαι. ὁ δὲ
ἀκούσας ἀνίστησί τε αὐτὸν μετὰ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ
From him he
got means to
escape to Asia. νιέος, ὥσπερ καὶ ἔχων αὐτὸν ἐκαθέ-
ζετο, καὶ μέγιστον ἦν ἵκέτευμα
τοῦτο, καὶ ὕστερον οὐ πολλῷ τοῖς τε Λακε- 20
δαιμονίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ἐλθοῦσι καὶ πολλὰ
εἰποῦσιν οὐκ ἐκδίδωσιν, ἀλλ' ἀποστέλλει βουλό-
μενον ὡς βασιλέα πορευθῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν ἑτέραν
θάλασσαν πεζῇ ἐς Πύδναν τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου.
2 ἐν ἦ ὁλκάδος τυχὼν ἀναγομένης ἐπ' Ἰωνίας 25
καὶ ἐπιβὰς καταφέρεται χειμῶνι ἐς τὸ Ἀθηναίων
στρατόπεδον, δὲ ἐπολιόρκει Νάξον. καί (ἥν

5. καθέζεσθαι rec. : καθίζεσθαι codd.
rec. : se . . multo imbecilliorem ab illo laedi Valla
post καὶ add Θεμιστοκλῆς ABF : ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς Ι. C : om. cett.

10. ἀσθενέστερος

13. Ι.

20. τε

γὰρ ἀγνῶς τοῖς ἐν τῇ νηὶ δείσας φράζει τῷ ναυκλήρῳ ὅστις ἐστὶ καὶ δι' ἄ φεύγει, καὶ εἰ μὴ σώσει αὐτὸν, ἔφη ἐρεῖν ὅτι χρήμασι πεισθεὶς αὐτὸν ἄγει· τὴν δὲ ἀσφάλειαν εἶναι μηδένα 5 ἐκβῆναι ἐκ τῆς νεὼς μέχρι πλοῦς γένηται· πειθομένῳ δ' αὐτῷ χάριν ἀπομνήσεσθαι ἀξίαν. ὁ δὲ ναύκληρος ποιεῖ τε ταῦτα καὶ ἀποσαλεύσας ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα ὑπὲρ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ὕστερον ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Ἱερεσόν. καὶ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς 10 ἐκεῖνόν τε ἐθεράπευσε χρημάτων δόσει (ἥλθε γὰρ αὐτῷ ὕστερον ἐκ τε Ἀθηνῶν παρὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ ἐξ Ἀργους ἄ ὑπεξέκειτο) καὶ μετὰ τῶν κάτω Περσῶν τινὸς πορευθεὶς ἄνω ἐσπέμπει γράμματα πρὸς βασιλέα Ἀρταξέρξην τὸν Ξέρξου 15 νεωστὶ βασιλεύοντα. ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ ὅτι 4 “Θεμιστοκλῆς ἦκω παρὰ σέ, ὃς κακὰ μὲν πλεῖστα Ἑλλήνων εἴργασμαι τὸν ὑμέτερον οἶκον, ὃσον χρόνον τὸν σὸν πατέρα ἐπιόντα ἐμοὶ ἀνάγκη ἡμινόμην, πολὺ δὲ ἔτι πλείω 20 ἀγαθά, ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ μὲν ἐμοί, ἐκείνῳ δὲ ἐν ἐπικινδύνῳ πάλιν ἡ ἀποκομιδὴ ἐγίγνετο. καὶ μοι εὐεργεσία ὀφείλεται (γράψας τὴν τε ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος προάγγελσιν τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως καὶ τὴν τῶν γεφυρῶν, ἦν ψευδῶς προσεποιή- 25 σατο, τότε δι' αὐτὸν οὐ διάλυσιν), καὶ νῦν ἔχων σε μεγάλα ἀγαθὰ δρᾶσαι πάρειμι διωκόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων διὰ τὴν σὴν φιλίαν.

6. ἀπομησθήσεσθαι L. Dindorf || post ἀπομησεσθαι add.
καὶ C, κατ' Hude 14. πρὸς eis ΑΒΕΦ 22. τε om.
ΑΒΕΦ

βούλομαι δ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπισχὼν αὐτός σοι περὶ
 138 ὃν ἥκω δηλώσαι." βασιλεὺς δέ, ὡς λέγεται,
 ἐθαύμασέ τε αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ ἐκέλευε

He was liberally treated by the great king, and died in exile.

ποιεῦν οὕτω. ὁ δ' ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ὃν
 ἐπέσχε τῆς τε Περσίδος γλώσσης 5
 ὅσα ἐδύνατο κατενόησε καὶ τῶν

2 ἐπιτηδευμάτων τῆς χώρας ἀφικόμενος δὲ μετὰ
 τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν γίγνεται παρ' αὐτῷ μέγας καὶ
 ὃσος οὐδείς πω Ἑλλήνων διά τε τὴν προϋπ-
 ἀρχουσαν ἀξίωσιν καὶ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐλπίδα, 10
 ἦν ὑπετίθει αὐτῷ δουλώσειν, μάλιστα δὲ ἀπὸ
 τοῦ πεῖραν διδοὺς ξυνετὸς φαίνεσθαι.

3 Ἡν γὰρ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς βεβαιότατα δὴ

Character of Themistocles. φύσεως ἵσχυν δηλώσας καὶ διαφε-
 ρόντως τι ἐσ αὐτὸ μᾶλλον ἐτέρου 15

ἀξιος θαυμάσαι· οἰκείᾳ γὰρ ξυνέσει καὶ οὕτε
 προμαθὼν ἐσ αὐτὴν οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἐπιμαθών, τῶν
 τε παραχρῆμα δι' ἐλαχίστης βουλῆς κράτιστος
 γνώμων καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τοῦ
 γενησομένου ἄριστος εἰκαστής· καὶ ἡ μὲν μετὰ 20
 χεῖρας ἔχοι, καὶ ἐξηγήσασθαι οἰός τε, ὃν δ'
 ἄπειρος εἴη, κρῦναι ἰκανῶς οὐκ ἀπήλλακτο·
 τό τε ἄμεινον ἡ χεῖρον ἐν τῷ ἀφανεῖ ἔτι
 προεώρα μάλιστα. καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν εἰπεῖν
 φύσεως μὲν δυνάμει, μελέτης δὲ βραχύτητι 25
 κράτιστος δὴ οὗτος αὐτοσχεδιάζειν τὰ δέοντα
 4 ἐγένετο. νοσήσας δὲ τελευτὴ τὸν βίον· λέγουσι
 δέ τινες καὶ ἐκούσιον φαρμάκῳ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτόν,
 ἀδύνατον νομίσαντα εἶναι ἐπιτελέσαι βασιλεῖ

ἀ ὑπέσχετο. μνημεῖον μὲν οὖν αὐτοῦ ἐν 5
 Μαγνησίᾳ ἔστι τῇ Ἀσιανῇ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ·
 ταύτης γὰρ ἥρχε τῆς χώρας, δόντος βασιλέως
 αὐτῷ Μαγνησίαν μὲν ἄρτον, ἢ προσέφερε
 5 πεντήκοντα τάλαντα τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, Λάμψακον
 δὲ οἶνον (έδόκει γὰρ πολυοινότατον τῶν τότε
 εἶναι), Μυοῦντα δὲ ὄψον. τὰ δὲ ὀστᾶ φασι
 κομισθῆναι αὐτοῦ οἱ προσήκοντες οἴκαδε κελεύ-
 σαντος ἐκείνου καὶ τεθῆναι κρύφα Ἀθηναίων
 10 ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ· οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν θάπτειν ώς ἐπὶ
 προδοσίᾳ φεύγοντος. τὰ μὲν κατὰ Παυσανίαν 6
 τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον καὶ Θεμιστοκλέα τὸν Ἀθηναῖον,
 λαμπροτάτους γενομένους τῶν καθ' ἑαυτοὺς
 Ἑλλήνων, οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν.

15 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς πρώτης 139

πρεσβείας τοιαῦτα ἐπέταξάν τε καὶ Resumption of
 ἀντεκελεύσθησαν περὶ τῶν ἐναγῶν τῆς Spartan
 ἐλάσεως· ὕστερον δὲ φοιτῶντες παρ' ultimatum to
 Ἀθηναίους Ποτειδαίας τε ἀπανίστασθαι ἐκέλευνον
 Athens.

20 καὶ Αἴγιναν αὐτόνομον ἀφιέναι, καὶ μάλιστά
 γε πάντων καὶ ἐνδηλότατα προύλεγον τὸ περὶ
 Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα καθελοῦσι μὴ ἀν γίγνεσθαι
 πόλεμον, ἐν φέρητο αὐτοὺς μὴ χρῆσθαι τοῖς
 λιμέσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἀρχῇ μηδὲ τῇ
 25 Ἀττικῇ ἀγορᾷ. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι οὔτε τάλλα 2
 ὑπήκουον οὔτε τὸ ψήφισμα καθήρουν, ἐπικα-
 λοῦντες ἐπεργασίαν Μεγαρεῦσι τῆς γῆς τῆς ἱερᾶς
 καὶ τῆς ἀορίστου καὶ ἀνδραπόδων ὑποδοχὴν τῶν
 ἀφισταμένων. τέλος δὲ ἀφικομένων τῶν τελευ- 3

ταίων πρέσβεων ἐκ Λακεδαιμονος, 'Ραμφίου τε καὶ Μελησίππου καὶ Ἀγησάνδρου, καὶ λεγόντων ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ὡν πρότερον εἰώθεσαν, αὐτὰ δὲ τάδε ὅτι "Λακεδαιμόνιοι βούλονται τὴν εἰρήνην εἶναι, εἴη δ' ἀν εἰ τοὺς "Ελληνας⁵ αὐτονόμους ἀφεῖτε," ποιήσαντες ἐκκλησίαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι γνώμας σφίσιν αὐτοῖς προυτίθεσαν, καὶ ἐδόκει ἄπαξ περὶ ἀπάντων βουλευσάμένους 4 ἀποκρίνασθαι. καὶ παριόντες ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ ἔλεγον ἐπ' ἀμφότερα γιγνόμενοι ταῖς γνώμαις¹⁰ καὶ ὡς χρὴ πολεμεῖν καὶ ὡς μὴ ἐμπόδιον εἶναι τὸ ψήφισμα εἰρήνης, ἀλλὰ καθελεῖν, καὶ παρελθὼν Περικλῆς ὁ Ξανθίππου, ἀνὴρ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον πρώτος Ἀθηναίων, λέγειν τε καὶ πράσσειν δυνατώτατος, παρήνει τοιάδε. 15

140 "Τῆς μὲν γνώμης, ὡ Ἀθηναῖοι, αἱεὶ τῆς
 Pericles spoke
 against
 compliance.
 Exordium.
 αὐτῆς ἔχομαι, μὴ εἴκειν Πελοπον-
 νησίοις, καίπερ εἰδὼς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους
 οὐ τῇ αὐτῇ ὀργῇ ἀναπειθομένους
 τε πολεμεῖν καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ πράσσοντας, πρὸς²⁰
 δὲ τὰς ξυμφορὰς καὶ τὰς γνώμας τρεπομένους.
 ὅρῳ δὲ καὶ νῦν ὄμοια καὶ παραπλήσια ξυμβου-
 λευτέα μοι ὅντα, καὶ τοὺς ἀναπειθομένους ὑμῶν
 δικαιῶ τοῖς κοινῇ δόξασιν, ἦν ἄρα τι καὶ
 σφαλλώμεθα, βοηθεῖν, ἡ μηδὲ κατορθοῦντας²⁵
 τῆς ξυνέσεως μεταποιεῖσθαι. ἐνδέχεται γὰρ
 τὰς ξυμφορὰς τῶν πραγμάτων οὐχ ἥσσον
 ἀμαθῶς χωρῆσαι ἡ καὶ τὰς διανοίας τοῦ
 ἀνθρώπου· δι' ὅπερ καὶ τὴν τύχην, ὅσα ἀν
 παρὰ λόγον ξυμβῆ, εἰώθαμεν αἰτιᾶσθαι. 30

“Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ πρότερόν τε δῆλοι ἦσαν 2
 ἐπιβουλεύοντες ἡμῖν καὶ νῦν οὐχ
 ἥκιστα. εἰρημένον γὰρ δίκας μὲν
 τῶν διαφορῶν ἀλλήλοις διδόναι καὶ
 δέχεσθαι, ἔχειν δὲ ἑκατέρους ἄ ἔχομεν, οὔτε
 αὐτοὶ δίκας πω ἥτησαν οὔτε ἡμῶν διδόντων
 δέχονται, βούλονται δὲ πολέμῳ μᾶλλον ἢ λόγοις
 τὰ ἐγκλήματα διαλύεσθαι, καὶ ἐπιτάσσοντες
 ἥδη καὶ οὐκέτι αἰτιώμενοι πάρεισιν. Ποτει- 3
 10 δαίας τε γὰρ ἀπανίστασθαι κελεύουσι καὶ
 Αἴγιναν αὐτόνομον ἀφιέναι καὶ τὸ Μεγαρέων
 ψήφισμα καθαιρεῖν· οἱ δὲ τελευταῖοι οἵδε
 ἥκουντες καὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας προαγορεύουσιν
 αὐτονόμους ἀφιέναι. ὑμῶν δὲ μηδεὶς νομίσῃ 4
 15 περὶ βραχέος ἄν πολεμεῖν, εἰ τὸ Μεγαρέων
 ψήφισμα μὴ καθέλοιμεν, ὅπερ μάλιστα πρού-
 χονται, εἰ καθαιρεθείη, μὴ ἄν γίγνεσθαι τὸν
 πόλεμον, μηδὲ ἐν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς αἰτίαν ὑπολίπησθε
 ώς διὰ μικρὸν ἐπολεμήσατε. τὸ γὰρ βραχύ 5
 20 τι τοῦτο πᾶσαν ὑμῶν ἔχει τὴν βεβαίωσιν καὶ
 πεῖραν τῆς γυνώμης. οἱς εἰ ἔνγχωρήσετε, καὶ
 ἄλλο τι μεῖζον εὐθὺς ἐπιταχθήσεσθε ώς φόβῳ
 καὶ τοῦτο ὑπακούσαντες· ἀπισχυρισάμενοι δὲ
 σαφὲς ἄν καταστήσαιτε αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵσου
 25 ὑμῖν μᾶλλον προσφέρεσθαι. αὐτόθεν δὴ δια- 141
 νοήθητε ἢ ὑπακούειν πρίν τι βλαβῆναι, ἢ εἰ
 πολεμήσομεν, ὥσπερ ἔμοιγε ἄμεινον δοκεῖ εἶναι,
 καὶ ἐπὶ μεγάλῃ καὶ ἐπὶ βραχείᾳ ὁμοίως

They refuse
 arbitration.
 'If we comply,
 they will only
 press us farther.'

προφάσει μὴ εἴξοντες μηδὲ ξὺν φόβῳ ἔξοντες
ά κεκτήμεθα· τὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν δύναται δούλωσιν
ἢ τε μεγίστη καὶ ἐλαχίστη δικαίωσις ἀπὸ τῶν
όμοίων πρὸ δίκης τοῖς πέλας ἐπιτασσομένη.

2 “Τὰ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν ἑκατέροις⁵
 ‘The disadvantages of the Peloponnesians for fighting us are many.

3 ὑπαρχόντων ὡς οὐκ ἀσθενέστερα
ἔξομεν γνῶτε καθ’ ἔκαστον ἀκούοντες.
 αὐτουργοί τε γάρ εἰσι Πελοποννήσιοι
 καὶ οὗτε ἴδιᾳ οὕτ’ ἐν κοινῷ χρήματά ἔστιν
 αὐτοῖς, ἐπειτα χρονίων πολέμων καὶ διαποντίων¹⁰
 ἄπειροι διὰ τὸ βραχέως αὐτοὶ ἐπ’ ἀλλήλους
 4 ὑπὸ πενίας ἐπιφέρειν. καὶ οἱ τοιοῦτοι οὕτε
 ναῦς πληροῦντες οὕτε πεζὰς στρατιὰς πολλάκις
 ἐκπέμπειν δύνανται, ἀπὸ τῶν ἴδιων τε ἄμα
 ἀπόντες καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν δαπανῶντες καὶ¹⁵
 5 προσέτι καὶ θαλάσσης εἰργόμενοι· αἱ δὲ
 περιουσίαι τοὺς πολέμους μᾶλλον ἢ αἱ βίαιοι
 ἐσφοραὶ ἀνέχουσιν. σώμασί τε ἐτοιμότεροι οἱ
 αὐτουργοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἢ χρήμασι πολεμεῖν,
 τὸ μὲν πιστὸν ἔχοντες ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων καν²⁰
 περιγενέσθαι, τὸ δὲ οὐ βέβαιον μὴ οὐ προανα-
 λώσειν, ἄλλως τε καν παρὰ δόξαν, ὅπερ εἰκός,
 6 ὁ πόλεμος αὐτοῖς μηκύνηται. μάχῃ μὲν γὰρ
 μᾶ ἀπὸς ἄπαντας “Ἐλληνας δυνατοὶ Πελοπον-
 νήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἀντισχεῖν, πολεμεῖν δὲ²⁵
 μὴ πρὸς ὄμοίαν ἀντιπαρασκευὴν ἀδύνατοι, ὅταν
 μήτε βουλευτηρίῳ ἐνὶ χρώμενοι παραχρῆμά τι
 δέξανται ἐπιτελῶσι πάντες τε ἴσοψηφοι δύντες καὶ

3. post καὶ add. ἡ CG
αὐτῶν Stephanus: αὐτῶν codd.

13. πληροῦν Herwerden
25. ἀντισχεῖν Krüger

15.

οὐχ ὄμόφυλοι τὸ ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἔκαστος σπεύδῃ· ἔξι ὡν φιλεῖ μηδὲν ἐπιτελὲς γύγνεσθαι. καὶ 7 γὰρ οἱ μὲν ως μάλιστα τιμωρήσασθαι τινα βούλονται, οἱ δὲ ως ἥκιστα τὰ οἰκεῖα φθεῖραι. 5 χρόνοι τε ξυνιόντες ἐν βραχεῖ μὲν μορίῳ σκοποῦσί τι τῶν κοινῶν, τῷ δὲ πλέον τὰ οἰκεῖα πράσσουσι, καὶ ἔκαστος οὐ παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀμέλειαν οἴεται βλάψειν, μέλειν δέ τινι καὶ ἄλλῳ ὑπὲρ έαυτοῦ τι προϊδεῖν, ὥστε τῷ 10 αὐτῷ ὑπὸ ἀπάντων ἰδίᾳ δοξάσματι λανθάνειν τὸ κοινὸν ἀθρόον φθειρόμενον.

“Μέγιστον δέ, τῇ τῶν χρημάτων σπάνει 142 κωλύσονται, ὅταν σχολῆ αὐτὰ πορι-
ζόμενοι διαμέλλωσιν· τοῦ δὲ πολέμου 15 οἱ καιροὶ οὐ μενετοί. καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ 2
ἡ ἐπιτείχισις οὐδὲ τὸ ναυτικὸν αὐτῶν ἄξιον φοβηθῆναι. τὴν μὲν γὰρ χαλεπὸν καὶ ἐν 3 εἰρήνῃ πόλιν ἀντίπαλον κατασκευάσασθαι, ἡ που δὴ ἐν πολεμίᾳ τε καὶ οὐχ ἡσσον ἐκείνοις 20 ἡμῶν ἀντεπιτείχισμένων· φρούριον δὲ εἰ 4 ποιήσονται, τῆς μὲν γῆς βλάπτοιεν ἀν τι μέρος καταδρομαῖς καὶ αὐτομολίαις, οὐ μέντοι ίκανόν γε ἔσται ἐπιτειχίζειν τε κωλύειν ἡμᾶς πλεύ-
σαντας ἐς τὴν ἐκείνων καί, ἥπερ ἴσχύομεν, ταῖς 25 ναυσὶν ἀμύνεσθαι· πλέον γὰρ ἡμεῖς 5 έχομεν τοῦ κατὰ γῆν ἐκ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ In naval skill
έμπειρίας ἡ ἐκείνοι ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ἥπειρον ἐς τὰ they cannot
ναυτικά. τὸ δὲ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπιστήμονας 6 rival us.

18. παρασκευάσασθαι ΑΒΕΓ
post γὰρ add. δμως Σ[G]

24. ἐς τὴν] ἐν τῷ C

25.

γενέσθαι οὐ ῥᾳδίως αὐτοῖς προσγενησεται.
 7 οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑμεῖς μελετῶντες αὐτὸν εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν ἔξείργασθέ πω· πῶς δὴ ἄνδρες γεωργοὶ καὶ οὐ θαλάσσιοι, καὶ προσέτι οὐδὲ μελετῆσαι ἐασόμενοι διὰ τὸ ὑφ' ἡμῶν πολλαῖς 5 ναυσὶν αἰὲν ἐφορμεῖσθαι, ἄξιον ἂν τι δρῶει;
 8 πρὸς μὲν γὰρ ὀλίγας ἐφορμούσας καν διακινδυνεύσειαν πλήθει τὴν ἀμαθίαν θρασύνοντες, πολλαῖς δὲ εἰργόμενοι ἡσυχάσουσι καὶ ἐν τῷ μὴ μελετῶντι ἀξυνετώτεροι ἔσονται καὶ δι' 10
 9 αὐτὸν καὶ ὀκνηρότεροι. τὸ δὲ ναυτικὸν τέχνης ἐστίν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλο τι, καὶ οὐκ ἐνδέχεται, ὅταν τύχῃ, ἐκ παρέργου μελετᾶσθαι, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μηδὲν ἐκείνῳ πάρεργον ἄλλο γίγνεσθαι.

143 “Εἴ τε καὶ κινήσαντες τῶν Ὀλυμπίασιν ἦ 15

'They will not be able to tempt our sailors away from us.' Δελφοῖς χρημάτων μισθῷ μείζονι πειρῶντο ἡμῶν ὑπολαβεῖν τοὺς ξένους τῶν ναυτῶν, μὴ ὅντων μὲν

ἡμῶν ἀντιπάλων ἐσβάντων αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν μετοίκων δεινὸν ἀν ἦν· νῦν δὲ τόδε τε ὑπάρχει, 20 καί, ὅπερ κράτιστον, κυβερνήτας ἔχομεν πολίτας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ὑπηρεσίαν πλείους καὶ ἀμείνους 2 ή ἄπασα ή ἄλλη Ἑλλάς. καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ κινδύνῳ οὐδεὶς ἀν δέξαιτο τῶν ξένων τὴν τε αὐτοῦ φεύγειν καὶ μετὰ τῆς ἡσσονος ἄμα ἐλπίδος 25 ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ἐνεκα μεγάλου μισθοῦ δόσεως ἐκείνοις ξυναγωνίζεσθαι.

3 “Καὶ τὰ μὲν Πελοποννησίων ἔμοιγε τοιαῦτα

3. πω om. AB¹EF[G]
G¹) 28. πᾶσα AB¹EF

7. post ὀλίγας add. ναῦς CG (del.)

καὶ παραπλήσια δοκεῖ εἶναι, τὰ δὲ ἡμέτερα τούτων τε ὀνπερ ἐκείνοις ἐμεμψάμην ἀπηλλάχθαι καὶ ἄλλα οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵσου μεγάλα ἔχειν. ἦν τε ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν πεζῇ ἰωσιν, 4
 5 ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνων πλευσούμεθα, ‘We can do them more harm than they can do us. καὶ οὐκέτι ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου ἔσται
 Πελοποννήσου τε μέρος τι τμηθῆναι καὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἄπασαν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ἔξουσιν ἄλλην ἀντιλαβεῖν ἀμαχεῖ, ἡμῖν δὲ ἔστι γῆ 10 πολλὴ καὶ ἐν νήσοις καὶ κατ’ ἡπειρον· μέγα 5 γὰρ τὸ τῆς θαλάσσης κράτος. σκέψασθε δέ· εἰ γὰρ ἡμεν ησιώται, τίνες ἀν ἀληπτότεροι ἡσαν; καὶ νῦν χρὴ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τούτου διανοηθέντας τὴν μὲν γῆν καὶ οἰκίας ἀφεῖναι, 15 τῆς δὲ θαλάσσης καὶ πόλεως φυλακὴν ἔχειν, καὶ Πελοποννησίοις ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ‘We must not attempt to fight them in Attica. ὄργισθέντας πολλῷ πλέοσι μὴ διαμάχεσθαι (κρατήσαντές τε γὰρ αὐθις οὐκ ἐλάσσοσι μαχούμεθα καὶ ἦν σφαλῶμεν, τὰ τῶν ξυμμάχων, 20 ὅθεν ἰσχύομεν, προσαπόλυται· οὐ γὰρ ἡσυχάσουσι μὴ ἴκανῶν ἡμῶν ὄντων ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς στρατεύειν), τὴν τε δλόφυρσιν μὴ οἰκιῶν καὶ γῆς ποιεῖσθαι, ἄλλὰ τῶν σωμάτων· οὐ γὰρ τάδε τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἄλλ’ οἱ ἄνδρες ταῦτα 25 κτῶνται. καὶ εἰ ὥμην πείσειν ὑμᾶς, αὐτοὺς ἀν ἔξελθόντας ἐκέλευον αὐτὰ δηῶσαι καὶ δεῖξαι Πελοποννησίοις ὅτι τούτων γε ἔνεκα οὐχ ὑπακούσεσθε.

144 “Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἔχω ἐστία τοῦ περιέσεσθαι, ἦν ἐθέλητε ἀρχήν τε μὴ ἐπικτᾶσθαι ἀμα πολεμοῦντες καὶ κινδύνους αὐθαιρέτους μὴ προστίθεσθαι· μᾶλλον γὰρ πεφόβημαι τὰς οἰκείας 5 ἡμῶν ἀμαρτίας ἢ τὰς τῶν ἐναντίων διανοίας.

2 ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνα μὲν καὶ ἐν ἄλλῳ λόγῳ ἀμα τοῖς 10
 ‘Let us return
them a firm
answer.’

ἔργοις δηλωθήσεται· νῦν δὲ τούτοις ἀποκρινάμενοι ἀποπέμψωμεν, Μεγαρέας μὲν ὅτι ἔάσομεν ἀγορᾶ καὶ λιμέσι χρῆσθαι, 15
 ἦν καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ξενηλασίας μὴ ποιῶσι μήτε ἡμῶν μήτε τῶν ἡμετέρων ξυμμάχων (οὔτε γὰρ ἐκεῖνο κωλύει ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς οὔτε τόδε), τὰς δὲ πόλεις ὅτι αὐτονόμους ἀφήσομεν, εἰ καὶ αὐτονόμους ἔχοντες ἐσπεισάμεθα, καὶ ὅταν 20
 κάκεῦνοι ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ἀποδῶσι πόλεσι μὴ σφίσι [τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις] ἐπιτηδείως αὐτονομεῖσθαι, ἀλλ’ αὐτοῖς ἐκάστοις ως βούλονται· δίκας τε ὅτι ἐθέλομεν δοῦναι κατὰ τὰς ξυνθήκας, πολέμου δὲ οὐκ ἄρξομεν, ἀρχομένους δὲ ἀμυνούμεθα. 25
 ταῦτα γὰρ δίκαια καὶ πρέποντα ἀμα τῇδε τῇ 3 πόλει ἀποκρίνασθαι. εἰδέναι δὲ χρὴ ὅτι ἀνάγκη πολεμεῖν (ἦν δὲ ἐκούσιοι μᾶλλον δεχώμεθα, ἥσσον ἐγκεισομένους τοὺς ἐναντίους ἔξομεν), ἔκ τε τῶν μεγίστων κινδύνων ὅτι καὶ πόλει καὶ 4 ἴδιώτῃ μέγισται τιμαὶ περιγίγνονται. οἱ γοῦν πατέρες ἡμῶν ὑποστάντες Μήδους καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ

13. ἐν om. Dion. Hal.
 vel αὐτῶν ΑΒΕΦ
 18. τε Hude: δὲ codd.

14. τε ΑΒΕΦ
 17. τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις secl. Schol.

16. αὐτῶν

τοσῶνδε ὄρμώμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα
έκλιπόντες, γνώμη τε πλέονι ἡ τύχῃ καὶ τόλμῃ
μείζονι ἡ δυνάμει τόν τε βάρβαρον ἀπεώσαντο
καὶ ἐς τάδε προήγαγον αὐτά. ὡν οὐ χρὴ
5 λείπεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τούς τε ἔχθροὺς παντὶ τρόπῳ
ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις πειρᾶσθαι
αὐτὰ μὴ ἐλάσσω παραδοῦναι."

‘Ο μὲν Περικλῆς τοιαῦτα εἶπεν, οἱ δὲ 145

’Αθηναῖοι νομίσαντες ἄριστα σφίσι His advice is
10 παραινεῖν αὐτὸν ἐψηφίσαντο ἀ adopted.

ἐκέλευε, καὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀπεκρίναντο
τῇ ἐκείνου γνώμῃ καθ' ἕκαστά τε ὡς ἔφρασε
καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν, οὐδὲν κελευόμενοι ποιήσειν,
δίκη δὲ κατὰ τὰς ξυνθήκας ἐτοῦμοι εἶναι δια-
15 λύεσθαι περὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἐπὶ ἵση καὶ ὁμοίᾳ.
καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου καὶ οὐκέτι
ὑστερον ἐπρεσβεύοντο· αἰτίαι δὲ αὐταὶ καὶ 146
διαφορὰὶ ἐγένοντο ἀμφοτέροις πρὸ
τοῦ πολέμου, ἀρξάμενοι εὐθὺς ἀπὸ
20 τῶν ἐν Ἐπιδάμνῳ καὶ Κερκύρᾳ.
ἐπεμείγνυντο δὲ ὅμως ἐν αὐταῖς καὶ
παρ' ἀλλήλους ἐφοίτων ἀκηρύκτως
μέν, ἀνυπόπτως δὲ οὐ· σπουδῶν γὰρ ξύγχυσις
τὰ γιγνόμενα ἦν καὶ πρόφασις τοῦ πολεμεῖν.

During the
events pre-
ceding the war
there had been
much suspicion,
but communica-
tion had been
kept up.

11. post τοῖς add. τε ΑΒΕΦ

NOTES

PAGE 1.

1. Θουκυδίδης κτλ.—a formal method of opening, after the manner of the gnomic poets, not due, as Bloomfield imagined, to 'the modesty of our author.' Cf. Herod. init. ; Intr. p. xv.

ξυνέγραψε—a characteristic word of Thuc., who is known to the ancient critics as ὁ σιγγράφεις, much as Homer is ὁ ποιητής. It denotes the bringing together in one work of many occurrences—*composing* in its etymological sense. (How some find a reference to the hunting up of materials is not clear.)

3. ὡς ἐπολέμησαν—'namely, how,' i.e. 'showing how they waged war.' Of course different from δν ἐ., which would be absurdly tautological. The aorist is called *complexive*.

4. ἀρξάμενος (τοῦ ξυγγράψας) κτλ.—we are to understand that as soon as the war broke out Thuc. began to put down what occurred, and kept a sort of diary of the war.

εὐθὺς καθισταμένου—supply τοῦ πολέμου.

5. ἐλπίσας—'expecting.' On the relation of the participles here see Intr. p. xli. This first sentence is very characteristic of Thuc., in whose periods form is constantly subordinated to sense. O. Müller well says that Thuc. has two favourite forms of period, (a) the main predication, followed by clauses giving the circumstances and reasons, which may in turn be explained in similar clauses; and (b) the reasons, circumstances in participial and other clauses followed by the resulting fact or opinion, as in c. 2, 2.

ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν π.—the illogical form of comparison, as in c. 10, 3, cf. 'fairest of her daughters Eve': Tac. *Agric.* 34 *ceterorum fugacissimi*. It is frequent in Greek.

6. **τεκμαρόμενος**—‘inferring this,’ adding the grounds of the ἐλπίς. These grounds are (1) *ὅτι ἀκμάζοντες* . . , (2) *όρῶν* . . Thus the clause with *ὅτι* is co-ordinate with a partic. of cause; cf. Xen. *Symp.* 8, 11 *τεκμαρόματι τῇ καλοκάγαθᾳ καὶ ὅτι σε ὄρῳ*.

7. **ἀκμάζοντες** . . **παρασκευῇ**—‘at the height of their military power.’ That *ῆσαν*, not *ῆσαν*, is the true reading there cannot be a doubt; for *λέναι* *ἐσ* in this pregnant use see L. & S.

8. **τὸ ἄλλο Ἑλληνικόν**—including the Greeks outside Greece proper. Cf. *τὸ ληστικόν*, *τὸ βαρβαρικόν*, *τὸ ξενικόν*, and many others.

10. **καὶ διανοούμενον**—sc. *ξυνιστασθαι*, the ellipse of an infin. with *διανοεῖσθαι* being common, as in 124, 3. The *καὶ* serves to bring *διανοούμενον* into connexion with *ξυνιστάμενον*; we should put ‘actually’ with *τὸ μὲν εὐθύς*. The Sicilian Greeks are a good example.

γάρ—as ‘the movement’ meant by *κίνησις* must be (1) the war itself, and (2) the unrest that preceded it, *γάρ* cannot introduce the reason of the expectation that the war would be important, but must be epexegetic.

12. **μέρει τινὶ**—‘a considerable part,’ as, for example, Thrace and Macedon. Supply *ἐγένετο*, ‘affected.’

ώς δὲ εἰπεῖν—qualifying *πλεῖστον*. Note that *ώς* (*ἐπος*) *εἰπεῖν* never apologises for a metaphor, but always limits a sweeping or universal statement. Hence ‘(it extended, *ἐγένετο*), one might almost say, over the greatest part of mankind’; i.e. it affected perhaps a greater part of mankind than had been affected by any previous commotion. Of course the possible exception is the Persian wars.

(Whatever be the exact construction of *μεγίστη δὴ . . ἀνθρώπων*—and the words are variously interpreted—Thuc. over-estimates the importance of the war. If we supply *μεγίστη δὴ ἐγένετο* to *μέρει τινὶ* and *ἐπὶ πλεῖστον*, the exaggeration is extreme. *ἐπὶ πλεῖστον* is taken by Classen and others to mean ‘the greatest part of the (known) world’; but this involves a very great exaggeration of a fact ascertainable; and it is unlikely that Thuc. would make such a sweeping statement. It looks also as if *πλεῖστον*, ‘more than before,’ were meant to be parallel to *μεγίστη*, ‘greater than before.’ The text has no appearance of being corrupt or interpolated.)

13. **τὰ πρὸ αὐτῶν**—‘the events that preceded this disturbance (*κίνησις*).’ The neut. *αὐτά* is frequently used by Thuc. with reference to the details of the subject he is dealing with.

(This phrase cannot refer to events that *immediately* preceded the war; for (a) *διὰ χρόνου πλήθος* would then be absurd, (b) Thuc. himself gives an account of the fifty years preceding the war as a period well known, (c) the Persian wars could not be included in *οὐ μεγάλα νομίζω γενέσθαι κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους* (cf. c. 18, 2). Thuc. must be thinking of the period of the Trojan war and of that between the Trojan war and the Persian war, i.e. to the end of the Tyrants. But the words are very inexact; cf. Intr. p. xx).

14. **τὰ ἔτι παλαιάτερα**—events preceding the Trojan war.

15. **ἀδύνατα**—Thuc. frequently uses the neut. plur. of the *verbal* or of an adj. for the sing. where the subject is an infin. or a sentence. The use is mainly poetical.

τεκμηρίων—these ‘evidences’ are detailed in cc. 2-17: (1) migrations were frequent; (2) there was no common name; (3) weakness by sea; (4) the expeditions by land were on a small scale and were confined to border-fighting; (5) the tyrants hampered Greece proper, and Persia hampered Ionia.

PAGE 2.

1. *ῶν* belongs to *πιστεῦσαι*, and is probably attracted from *ἄ.* Chambry quotes Soph. *O.T.* 646 *πιστεύσοντος*, *Οἰδίποντος*, *τάδε*, for the accus. with *πιστεύω*.

ἐπὶ μακρότατον σκοποῦντι—‘by carrying my inquiry to the farthest limit (of the past).’ *ἐπὶ μακρότατον* of *time* also in Herod. i. 171, in a similar connexion.

5. **οἰκουμένη**—this and the following participles are imperfect.

6. **οὖσαι**—sc. *φαίνονται*.

τὰ πρότερα—the adverbial accus. in plur. is common in Thuc., but is seldom found in other prose authors.

8. **βιαζόμενοι**—the pres. and imperf. of this verb in a passive sense are far less common in other prose authors than in Thuc.

ὑπό τινων αἰεὶ πλειόνων—what is noticeable here is that *αἰεὶ* (“from time to time”) occurs with *τινων*, and not with *τῶν*, which—as the older critics note—is the usual form of expression.

9. **τῆς γὰρ ἐμπορίας κτλ.**—see note on p. 1 l. 6. The causes to which the readiness to migrate are ascribed are (1) absence of commerce and intercommunication: *τῆς γὰρ . .*

θαλάσσης: (2) low state of agriculture and absence of capital sunk in the land: *νεμόμενοι τε . . φυτεύοντες*: (3) absence of demand for anything beyond the necessaries of life, which could be procured anywhere: *τῆς τε . . ἐπικρατεῖν*.

ἐπιμιγνύντες—the mid. is used in the same sense, e.g. in c. 146. At a period when the tribes of Greece regarded one another as enemies, it was impossible that *ἐπιμιξία* should exist, *ἐπιμιξία* being based upon treaties. In later times *ἐπιμιξία* terminated as soon as a state of war existed.

10. **διά**—the sea as the *medium* of intercourse.

11. **νεμόμενοι**—the word is used of *enjoyment of profits derived*, which may be combined with *occupation*. The following participles—*ἔχοντες, φυτεύοντες*—are circumstances explanatory of the degree of ‘enjoyment’ attained. (*νέμεσθαι ὡς τὸ πολὺ τὸ λαμβάνειν πρόσοδον παρὰ Θουκυδίδη*, Photius.)

τὰ αὐτῶν—what they had acquired by adverse possession.

12. **ὅσον**—i.e. *τοσοῦτον*, *ὅσον*, where *ὅσον* = *ὅστε*, and is assimilated to the adverbial accus. *τοσοῦτον*.

ἀποζῆν—this word occurs nowhere else in Attic, but is used by late writers (Lucian, Aelian, etc.), some at least of whom think it means ‘to live poorly,’ inferring the sense implied in this passage.

περιουσίαν κτλ.—had they accumulated stores for the purpose of barter, and had they planted trees, it would have been less easy to migrate.

13. **ἄδηλον ὅν**—accus. abs.

14. **ἐπελθὼν καὶ ἀτειχίστων ἄμα δ.**—(1) alternative explanations, seldom desirable, are here clearly called for: (2) taking *ἀτειχίστων* *ὅντων* first: the sense is, ‘as they were without walls.’ The simplest way is to suppose this *masc.* and dependent on *ἀφαιρήσεται*. This involves making *καὶ . . ἄμα* almost equivalent to *ἄλλως τε καὶ*: *καὶ*, we are told, does not = ‘and,’ but *καὶ . . ἄμα* = ‘particularly,’ as in 102, 3 and elsewhere. But (3) this makes it impossible to explain why *τις . . ἄλλος*, which go together, are separated, because *ἐπελθὼν . . ὅντων* is not then *one* expression. (4) This objection is diminished if *καὶ . . ὅντων* is taken as a *parenthetical gen. abs.*, either (a) *masc.*, with *αὐτῶν* supplied, or (b) *neut.*, with subj. supplied from context, like *πλωιμωτέρων ὅντων* c. 7. (5) The objection disappears if *καὶ* = ‘and,’ *ἐπελθὼν καὶ ἀ. ἄμα ὅντων* giving the two circumstances leading to loss—*ἀφαιρήσεται*. Though one circumstance

is *modal*—*ἐπελθών*—the other *causal*, it is like Thuc. to connect them by *kai*.

15. **ἀναγκαῖον**—of what will just suffice, as in *necessarius cibus*. *ἀναγκαῖος* is frequently *fern.* in Plato. *βίαιος* and *βέβαιος* always have two terminations in Thuc.

16. **πανταχοῦ**—‘anywhere.’ The sense *any* frequently belongs to *πᾶς* and words from it.

17. **δι’ αὐτό**—‘accordingly’; Thuc. often uses *αὐτό* (-*α*) in reference to a previous statement.

μεγέθει—of the number of inhabitants, as in c. 10.

18. **παρασκευῆ**—naval and military resources, as distinct from *κατασκευῆ*, the external adornment of a city.

19. **ἡ ἀριστη**—cf. *τῆς γῆς οὐ πολλὴν ἔτεμον* vi. 7. The attraction is most common with *πολὺς*, but is fairly frequent with other adjectives.

20. **νῦν . . . καλουμένη** belongs to both nouns. In early times the districts had no general name.

22. **Αρκαδίας**—the exemption was due to the isolated character of Arcadia, the consequence of its mountains. *ἀρκτός*, ‘Bear-land’; cf. *ἄρκειος*. The Arcadians were unaffected by the Dorian migration. They prided themselves on being autochthones (cf. Xen. *Hell.* vii. i. 23), and on their primeval antiquity (cf. L. & S. under *προσέληνος*).

κράτιστα—‘best,’ the regular meaning of *κράτιστος* when applied to *land*.

23. **ἀρετήν**—‘fertility.’ When Greece was in the village stage, (1) the inhabitants of some districts grew (comparatively) wealthy, and as a consequence there were disputes between the ‘haves’ and ‘have-nots’; (2) these fertile districts excited the cupidity of other clans.

25. **μᾶλλον**—more than communities whose land was not so fertile.

26. **γοῦν**—‘at any rate’ the immunity of Attica was due to its barrenness; it is therefore likely that the troubles of other districts were due to their fertility.

τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, ‘the remotest time.’ *ἐπὶ πλεῖστον*, adverbial (‘extending farthest back’), has the art. like *τὸ πρίν*, etc.

τὸ λεπτόγενων—(1) the constant use of neut. adj. or partic. for a subst. is a feature of Thuc.’s style; (2) the soil of

Attica is in general stony and dry. The Attic Plain is watered by the Ilissus and Cephisus, but in summer the former is almost dry and the latter “μειοῦται τελέως” : the land yields a return only to diligent cultivation. Of course in these early times the land was not scientifically dealt with ; and it is noteworthy, as bearing on Thuc.’s point, that it *looks* more barren than it is.

28. **παράδειγμα**—the meaning of this term in Greek rhetoric is not merely ‘example,’ but ‘an example used to support an argument.’

τόδε—referring to the sentence that follows, *ἐκ γάρ κτλ.*

τοῦ λόγου—explained by διά, etc.

29. **διὰ τὰς μετοικίας κτλ.**—‘that it was owing to the habit of settling elsewhere (to which I have referred) that *Greece* in other respects (besides *population and security*) had not advanced so fast (as Attica).’ *μετοικία* is used exactly as in Aesch. *Eum.* 1019, where the Furies refer to their *μετοικία* to and in Athens. 1. That *ἐκ γάρ κτλ.* explains *τόδε* is proved by the usage of Thuc. 2. *διὰ . . . αὐξηθῆναι* is beset with difficulties. With the ms. reading *τὰς μετοικίας ἐs τὰ ἄλλα* three explanations have been proposed : (a) ‘*Attica* did not grow in other respects so fast as in population.’ But this does not fall in with the general line of the argument. (b) ‘*Attica* through the presence of *μέτοικοι* advanced much more (*μη̄ ὄμοις*) in other respects.’ But neither is this the argument, nor is there any proof that *μη̄ ὄμοις* can in such a connexion as this mean ‘much more.’ (c) With regard to the rendering given above, it is denied that *Greece* can be the subject of *αὐξηθῆναι*. But, if we examine c. 2 as a whole, this does not appear impossible. The chapter deals with the early condition of *Greece* in general—*ἡ νῦν Ἑλλὰς καλούμενη*—the smallness of the communities (*οὐτε μεγέθει πόλεων ἴσχυν*) and their weakness. To these conditions the very fertility of the soil contributed. *Attica*, which was barren, was an exception in both respects. It did not lose inhabitants by *στάσις* : it did not excite the cupidity of strangers. On the other hand, strangers settled in *Attica* because it offered security ; and thus the population of *Attica* was still further increased, and it was able to colonise. These last facts lend further support to my general argument (*ό λόγος*), viz. that the weakness of the early Greeks in all respects is largely accounted for by the shifting nature of the population. *ἡ Ἑλλὰς* is in the writer’s mind throughout. *ἐs τὰ ἄλλα* is explained by many ‘with reference to its other parts’ ; but it more naturally means ‘in other respects than those points to

which I have specifically referred.' A striking example of this (*ex contrario*) is the colonising energy of Attica, the consequence of freedom from migration. Some take *ἐσ* τὰ ἄλλα with *μετο κίας*—migrations to other parts; but τὰ is then wrong. Ullrich's emendation, according to which τὰ ἄλλα, 'other parts of Greece,' is subject of *αξηθῆναι*—see crit. n.—is generally accepted; but it is not absolutely necessary.

PAGE 3.

2. πολέμω—referring to *ιπὸ ἄλλοφύλων ἐπεβουλεύοντο*.

3. οἱ δυνατώτατοι—limiting apposition to *οἱ ἐκπίπτοντες*. This kind of apposition is common in Thuc. — The most conspicuous instance is that of the Alemaeonidae from Pylus.

ἀς βέβαιον δν—taken as (1) *accus. abs.*, with *ἀναχωρεῖν παρ' Ἀθηναίοις* implied; (2) by Classen as governed by *παρά*, in a loose apposition to *Ἀθηναίοις*. The second, though loose in grammar, gives a better sense.

4. πολίται γιγνόμενοι—the imperf. partic. points to the many instances in which citizenship was bestowed. Of course this system of conferring civic rights belongs to a time when only the Eupatrids had any political power. They admitted new families freely. In later days, on the contrary, when Athens had attained power and the *demos* ruled, the Ecclesia was very jealous of the citizenship. Yet this welcome of political exiles remained an honourable tradition, as we see from the plays of Euripides.

εὐθὺς ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ with *ἐποίησαν*, but *εὐθὺς* belongs to *ἀπὸ π.*, being equivalent to *ἀρξάμενοι εὐθὺς*: cf. c. 146 and 142, 7.

7. Εξέπεμψαν—sc. οἱ *Ἀθηναῖοι*. The colonising activity of Attica is supposed to have begun in the eleventh cent. B.C.

9. δηλοῖ—second proof of weakness, viz. lack of communication.

τῶν παλαιῶν—*neut.*, like τὰ πρὸ αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ἔτι παλαιέρα in c. 2. Here τὰ παλαιά is explained to mean τὰ πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν. The lit. trans. is 'insignificance in our early history.'

11. πρότερον—this merely repeats the sense of *πρό*, as in *οὐ πρότερον . . πρίν κτλ.*

12. δοκεῖ δέ μοι—(1) at first parenthetical, afterwards (2) δοκεῖ ἡ ἐπίκλησις οὐδὲ εἶναι, (3) δοκεῖ ἄλλα (*nom.*) . .

παρέχεσθαι, (4) δοκεῖ "Ελληνας καλεῖσθαι, (5) ? parenthetical, before ἐδύνατο. When a verb can take more than one construction, Thuc. sometimes combines alternative constructions in the same sentence *without repeating the verb*.

13. τὰ πρὸ "Ελληνος—*adv. accus.*, as τὰ πρότερα c. 2, τὰ ἐν τῇ ειρήνῃ iii. 54, 9. Hellen was son of Deucalion and Pyrrha; and Hellenes from Phthiotis accompanied Achilles to Troy. How the name came to be extended to all the Greeks is unknown.

14. καὶ πάνυ—emphasised by being separated from εἶναι. Cf. Xen. *Anab.* i. 5 καὶ μάλα κατὰ πρανοῦς γηλόφου, Demosth. 5, 15 καὶ πάνυ φησί τις αὐτοὺς ἀναισθήτους εἶναι, and so with οὐ (μή) πάνυ not unfrequently. We should rather expect οὐ πάνυ μοι δοκεῖ οὐδ' εἶναι.

εἶναι—this and the infns. that follow are imperfect.

15. κατὰ ξθνη—distributive. This forms subject to παρέχεσθαι=‘various tribes,’ ἀλλα τε καὶ τὸ Π., ‘among others the P. tribe,’ being in apposition to κ. ξθνη. Adverbial phrases are frequent in Thuc. as equivalent of a case of a subst. : as in vi. 39 ταῦτα καὶ κατὰ μέρη καὶ ξύμπαντα.

16. τὸ Πελασγικόν—a tribe of aborigines, whom Homer speaks of as dwelling in Asia Minor and Crete as well as in Greece. For the facts and theories about them see Abbott, *Hist. Greece* i. p. 27 fol. “When the Pelasgi became established [in literature] as an ancient tribe, those nations which laid claim to great antiquity, as the Athenians and Arcadians, became Pelasgians.” (This is enough to know.)

ἐπὶ πλεῖστον—this belongs to τὸ Πελασγικόν, meaning that the name of the P. was *more widely extended* than that of any other tribe.

17. παρέχεσθαι—sc. ‘to the country.’

τῶν παῖδων—Aeolus, Dorus, and Xuthus.

18. ισχυσάντων—ingressive aor., ‘having become mighty.’

19. ἐπαγομένων—sc. τινῶν.

ἐπ’ ὀφελίᾳ—‘to aid them.’ ὀφελίᾳ often=βοήθεια; cf. p. 64 l. 21.

20. καθ’ ἕκαστους—subject of καλεῖσθαι: ‘the several tribes more and more (ἥδη μᾶλλον) began to be called Hellenes in consequence of their intercourse’ (with the Hellenes).

21. πολλοῦ χρόνου—*time within which* (partitive), less commonly found in positive sentences.

22. [ἔδύνατο]—sc. τὸ καλεῖσθαι Ἑλλῆνας. Shil. quotes Eur. *Phoen.* 12 καλοῦσι δ' Ἰοκάστην με, τοῦτο γάρ πατήρ | ἔθετο. The ἔδύνατο is probably spurious, because, though the constrn. of δοκεῖ shifts (see on l. 12), the two clauses καθ' ἔκαστοις μεν . . . οὐ μέντοι should have the same form, just as τὰ μὲν κατὰ ἔθνη δέ have. Even if the constrn. were again changed here, we should probably have ἔξενικησε.

25. ὀνόμασεν—sc. Ἑλλῆνας.

οὐδ' ἄλλους—i.e. Hellas in Homer is Phthiotis, B 684. It has been pointed out that in a 344, δ 726, 816, ο 80 Ἑλλάς with Ἀργος denotes Greece in general. The lines are perhaps spurious.

27. τὰ ἔπη—‘the poems.’

28. ἀνακαλεῖ—‘distinguishes them as.’ ἀνακαλῶ is ‘call by a distinctive, official name.’

οὐ μὴν οὐδέ—‘nor even’; οὐ μὴν ἀλλά = ‘not but what.’

PAGE 4.

1. **Βαρβάρους εἴρηκε**—‘mentioned barbarians, because not yet had the Heliens either been distinguished under one name in opposition’ (to them). There is a difficulty as to the construction of ἀντιπαλον. (1) Eustathius, followed by Stahl and Steup, made it agree with δύομα, despite the order; and the adj. is occasionally separated by a prep. from its subst.; (2) Classen thought it an adverb like τούναντιον: the absence of art. is one reason against this; (3) Bohme made it internal accus. to ἀποκεκρίσθαι, ‘to have undergone an opposing separation,’ and Krüger favours this; (4) Mr. Forbes says it is in apposition to Ἑλλῆνας, which means ‘the word Greeks.’ But should we not even so require ἀντιπάλους or Ἑλλῆνες?—The edd. note that Thuc. neglects the epithet βαρβαρόφωνοι, of the Carians, in *Il.* ii. 867. But this simply means ‘speaking an unknown tongue,’ and the statement of Thuc. is substantially correct. The Greeks could not be conscious that they were a *separate* people before they were conscious that they were *one* people.

3. δ' οὖν—resuming after the digression of which § 3 consists.

οἱ . . . ὡς ἔκαστοι . . . κληθέντες—the main subject is οἱ Ἑλλῆνες κληθέντες, ‘those who came to be called H.’ This is divided into (a) ὡς ἔκαστοι κατὰ πόλεις τε ὅσοι ἀ. ξυνιεσαν,

referring to *καθ' ἐκάστους μὲν ἥδη . . Ἐλληνας* § 2; (b) *καὶ ξύμπαντες ὕστερον*, referring to *οὐ μέντοι . . ἀπασιν ἐκνικῆσαι*. In (a) *τε=both* is misplaced, the irregularity being explained by the fact that *κατὰ . . ξυνιέσαν* is added to *ὡς ἐκαστοι* as an afterthought. Possibly, however, *τε=and*, but it is hard to see any distinction between *ὡς ἐκαστοι* and *κατὰ π.* The sentence is overloaded, since *ὕστερον*, i.e. *long after the Trojan War* (cf. § 3), is combined with a statement of what happened *πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν*. Observe also that this apparent recapitulation (*οἱ δ' οὖν κτλ.*) does not agree entirely with the statements made in § 2, where nothing is said about a common language. Thuc., as others have noticed, does not seem to have a clear view of the matter.

8. The ms. *ξυνῆλθον* will not do: *ἔξέρχομαι, ἔξειμι* with accus. are not rare in Attic prose in a military sense; but *ἔρχομαι, εἰμι* are not used so.

9. **Μίνως γάρ**—from this point to c. 8 Thuc. deals with the gradual growth of maritime enterprise, and the 'barbarian character of the early Greeks.' For Minos see Abbott, *Hist. Greece* i. p. 122.

παλαίτατος—'was the first to.' This does not belong to *τῶν Κυκλαδῶν . . ἐγένετο*, and perhaps not to *τῆς νῦν . . ἐκράτησε*.

10. **τῆς . . θαλάσσης**—this may depend on *ἐπὶ πλεῖστον*, or on *ἐκράτησε*.

12. **ἡρξε**—'became ruler.'

13. **πρώτος**—later the Athenians colonised the islands, and after that an Athenian would be honoured as *οἰκιστής*. See c. 12, 4.

15. **ἐγκαταστήσας**—this partic. is of course not antecedent in time to the main verb *ἐγένετο*. It is aor. merely because it is the explanation *how* *ἐγένετο οἰκιστής*, the partic. being equivalent to *καὶ+aor. ind.* (This use of the aor. partic. in Thuc. disposes of the passages discussed by Mr. Forbes, *Thuc.* i. p. 142.)

ὡς εἰκός—'as was natural' (in one who ruled the sea).

16. **καθήρει**—used of destroying, putting an end to a power, as in c. 16, 1.

17. **τοῦ . . λέναι**—*purpose*, generally with *μή*. Tac. imitates this in *An.* ii. 59 *Aegyptum proficiscitur cognoscendae antiquitatis*, etc.

21. **ἐπ'**—'to,' not 'against.'

23. οὐ τῶν ἀδυνατωτάτων = τῶν δυνατωτάτων.

κέρδους ἔνεκα—a frequent phrase. Notice the place of ἔνεκα, which is usual when it applies to two nouns, as e.g. Antiphon 6, 7 διαβολῆς ἔνεκα καὶ ἀπάτης, Lys. 32. 10 καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἔνεκα καὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν. But the rule is not absolute.

24. τοῖς ἀσθενέστεροι τροφῆς—cf. Demosth. i. § 22 τὰ τῆς τροφῆς τοῖς ξένοις. ἀσθενεῖς = 'weak.'

25. πόλεσιν ἀτεχίστοις—i.e. village communities. We cannot help thinking of the great aphorism in vii. 77, 7 ἀνόρες γάρ πόλις καὶ οὐ τείχη.

27. βίου—'livelihood.' ἐποιοῦντο = 'would get,' a sense more familiar in the corresponding passive forms, οἱ βίοι ἐγίγνετο αὐτοῖς.

ἐποιοῦντο—see L. & S. A. II. 2.

ἔχοντος—synonymous with φέροντος: ii. 37, 3 (*νόμων*) δοσοι αισχύνην φέρουσι, ib. 41, 3 τῷ πολεμιῷ ἀγανάκτησιν ἔχει.

PAGE 5.

2. δηλοῦσι—i.e. show the truth of the preceding statements: there is even in the present day evidence for what I have said.

τῶν ἡπειρωτῶν τινες—i.e. those dwelling in the coast towns of the mainland.

3. καλῶς—'cleverly,' as often in καλῶς λέγειν.

τοῦτο δρᾶν—a regular expression for referring to a previous verb.

4. οἱ παλαιοί—sc. δηλοῦσι.

τὰς πύστεις . . . ἐρωτῶντες—lit. 'everywhere agreeing in putting the stock question to strangers who come by sea, "are you pirates?" thus showing that the persons addressed were not accustomed to disown the occupation, and that those who made it their business to know did not censure it.' Of 'the old poets' Homer is one (*Od.* iii. 71 and ix. 252); and there is the *Hymn to Apollo* l. 452: but of course Thuc. knew other passages. The wording of the sentence has been questioned; but Thuc. seems to have had in mind ἡ πύστις τῶν καταπλεύντων ἔστιν εἰ λησταῖ εἰσιν. The poets are said to ask the question: for the characters are the mouthpiece of the poet.

6. οὕτε . . τε frequently correspond, as in Lat. *neque . . et.*

πυνθάνονται . . ἐπιμελὲς εἴη—the forms of the *recta* and *obliqua* are combined, as frequently in Xen. = ὅν πυνθανόμεθα . . οἱς ἀν ἐπιμελὲς ἦ. It expresses the thought of the poets. (Others seem to consider *πυνθάνονται* as *hist. pres.* and *εἴη* as pure *iterative opt.*)

8. καὶ κατ' ἥπερον—i.e. they not only carried on piracy at sea, but plundered one another on land as well. κατ' ἥ. = κατὰ γῆν. That Thuc. is thinking here of the towns near the coast is shown by c. 7 § 5 αἱ δὲ παλαιαὶ (πόλεις) διὰ τὴν λγοτείαν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης φύκισθησαν.

10. τῷ παλαιῷ τρόπῳ—i.e. κατὰ κώμας οἰκούμενα καὶ ἀρπαζόμενα.

περὶ—‘in the parts about.’ The names of the people are used by Thuc. indifferently with the *place-names*.

12. τε—‘and so.’

13. σιδηροφορεῖσθαι—below we have the act.: the mid. means ‘to provide one’s self with, see that one has.’ Such compounds of *φορῶ* (cf. *κανηφορῶ*, *χρυσοφορῶ*) are not ordinarily used in mid.; but cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1268 b.

16. οἰκήσεις—‘settlements,’ the *πόλεις* of c. 5, 1.

17. (διὰ τὰς) . . ἐφόδους—‘their hazardous intercourse.’

Ξυνήθη κτλ. = Ξυνήθως ἐδιηγῶντο.

19. ταῦτα . . ἔτι οὕτω νερόμενα—‘the fact that in these parts of Greece men still live in this way.’ This predicative use of the partic. is less common in Gk. than in Lat. (see *M. T.* 829 b). It is most often found with prepositions, and especially in phrases indicating *time*, with *μετά*, *ἐπί*, *ἀμά*. With certain well-defined exceptions, it does not occur unless the noun and verb yield sense without the partic.; i.e. the partic. was felt to be separate from the noun.

20. ἐς πάντας ὁμοίων—lit. ‘extending in similar form to all,’ like *ἐς δλίγονος οἰκεῖν* in ii. 37, 1. The substitution of the noun *διαιτημάτων* for the verb inf. *τοῦ . . διαιτᾶσθαι* with suitable constrn. is characteristic of the old style.

21. ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοι—the undoubted exx. of this idiom in Thuc. are, besides this place (where Prof. Tucker wrongly says the evidence favours *πρώτοις*), iii. 82, 1 (*στάσις*) ἐν τοῖς πρώτῃ ἐγένετο: vii. 24. 3 *μέγιστον καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρῶτον*; ib. 71, 3 *ἐν τοῖς χαλεπώτατα*: viii. 90, 1 *ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα*. In vii. 19, 4

the MSS. give *ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις* (not *πρῶτοι*) : ib. 27, *ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις* (not *πρῶτον* or *πρώτη*) : in viii. 89 *ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις* (not *πρῶτοι*). Pre-eminence is not necessarily implied in any example, and Herbst is perhaps right in saying that prominence only is meant. If so, it may be that the *nom.* is due only to attraction to the subject ; the principle being naturally extended to the adverb.

22. *ἀνεμένη τῇ διαίτῃ*—dat. of manner.

24. *αὐτοῖς*—ethic dat., very common in Thuc. where the gen. might be used.

25. *εὐδαιμόνων*—in the popular meaning.

διὰ τὸ ἀβροδιαιτον—with *φοροῦντες*. For the long linen (Ionian) *χιτών* worn by Ionians, Carians, Lydians see Gardner and Jevons, *Gk. Ant.* p. 49. Cf. Aesch. *Persae* 41 *ἀβροδιαιτων δ' ἔπειται Λεδῶν δχλος*. After the Persian wars the short (Dorian) *χιτών* of wool was substituted for it.

οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἐπειδὴ—‘no long time ago.’ *ἀφ' οὐ*, *ἐξ οὐ*, *ἐπει*, *ὡς*, *ὅτε* are all found in such phrases.

27. *χρυσῶν τεττύγων* seem to be pins with figures of grasshoppers at the end. Several might be used, apparently, for one *κράβυλος*, like hairpins. Helbig, however, thinks that metal spiral ornaments through which the ‘tail’ of the hair was passed are meant, and Studniezka supports this view ; but it does not seem probable. The *κράβυλος*—which doubtless took different forms—is perhaps to be recognised on ancient monuments, since Xen. *Anab.* v. iv. 13 speaks of leather helmets adorned with a *κράβυλος* and resembling a tiara (the various forms of which are well known). *εἰρω*, twist, favours ‘coil’ ; but, if the pins had a bend in them, we can understand *ἔνερσις*. (The v.l. *ἐν ἔρσει* is prob. a false division like *ἐν τομῇ* for *ἐντομῇ*, c. 93, 5.) Cf. Aristoph. *Eq.* 1325, *Nub.* 984.

28. *ἀφ' οὐ*—‘from this circumstance.’ It is likely that Thuc. is mistaken in saying that the Athenians carried the fashion to Asia Minor, and that it spread rather from the Ionians (Carians, Lydians) to the Athenians. Cf. Herod. v. 88.

PAGE 6.

1. *ἐπὶ πολύ*—*temporal.*

μετρίᾳ—this may mean that the Dorians too for a time had worn the ‘Ionian’ dress ; but more probably Thuc. in *μετρίᾳ* and *ἐπὶ τὸν νῦν τρόπον* thought rather of the Athenians, and meant merely that the Spartans originated the ‘Dorian’ *χιτών*.

4. **Ισοδίαιτοι** with $\piρὸς τοὺς πολλούς$. $\tauὰ μεῖζω$, which is unusual for $\tauὰ πλεῖω$, is thought to refer to the fact that *land* was the sole form of wealth in early Sparta.

6. **ἐς τὸ φανερὸν ἀποδύντες**— $\bar{e}s$ $\tauὸ φ.$ is a standing phrase for 'openly,' 'in public,' with verbs of motion, or suggestive of motion. The simplest form of phrase is such as $\bar{e}s$ $\tauὸ φ.$ $\epsilonὐεγκεῖν$ (Hyperid. I. v. 3), but Thuc., as so often, strains the use of the prep.

λίπα—'with oil,' frequent in Homer. It is generally explained as *instrumental* case, but K. W. Krüger calls it *internal accus.*

μετὰ τοῦ—in company with, i.e. 'when they . . .' as iii. 59, 3 $\betaίου κίνδυνος ἐγγὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ$ (sc. $\tauοῦ τελευτᾶν λόγου$).

7. **ἡλεψαντο**—reflexive mid. like $\lambdaούματι$, $\deltaπλίζοματι$, and other words of the toilet.

8. **διαζώματα**—*Il.* 23, 683 $\zetaῶμα$ $\deltaὲ οἱ πρῶτον παρακάββαλεν$.

10. **πέπαυται**—sc. $\tauὸ διαζώματα$ $\epsilonχοντας ἀγωνίζεσθαι$.

The order is $\epsilonπὶ$ $\deltaὲ$ $καὶ$ $\nuῦν$ $\epsilonν$ $τοῖς β.$ $\epsilonστιν$ $οἰς$ (= $\epsilonνίοις$), $καὶ$ $μάλιστα$ ($\epsilonν$) $τοῖς Ἀσιανοῖς$. In the *nom.* plur. *always* $\epsilonιστὶν οἱ$, $αἱ$; in *oblique* cases *always* $\epsilonστιν$ $\deltaῶν$ etc. in Thuc., unless words intervene, as in vii. 25 $\etaσαν$ $\tauῶν$ $σταυρῶν$ $οὐσ$.

12. **ἀθλα τίθεται καὶ**= $\deltaθλων$ $τιθεμένων$.

13. **πολλὰ . . δμοιότροπα**—internal accus. to *διαιτώμενον*.

16. **δοσαι μέν κτλ.**—"This clause (down to $\epsilonκαστοι$ $ισχύος$) is really subordinate to $αι$ $\deltaὲ$ $παλαιαὶ κτλ.$ 'Whereas the most recent cities,' etc.," Forbes.

17. **πλωιμωτέρων** $\deltaντων$ —'when navigation was easier,' *impers. gen. abs.* corresponding to *πλωιμώτερα* $\epsilonγένετο$ 8, 2. It is a question whether *περιουσίας . . εχουσαι* goes closely with *πλωιμωτέρων* $\deltaντων$, so that *καὶ* joins *νεώτατα* to *εχουσαι*, or belongs to *έκτιζοντο*: c. 8 *καταστάντος τοῦ Μίνω ναυτικοῦ πλωιμώτερα* $\epsilonγένετο$ (i.e. as early as Minos) favours the former; but c. 8 § 3 seems to show that Thuc. uses *νεώτατα* here vaguely of cities founded since Minos purged the seas.

20. **ἀπελάμβανον**—'occupied,' cutting them off from the mainland with walls. The change of subject from the place-names to their inhabitants is common, e.g. vi. 48; 74, 1; 75, 2; 88, 8; 94, 1.

21. **έκαστοι**—in this place because it goes closely with $\piρὸς τοὺς προσοίκους$. On the order of *ένεκα* see 5, 1.

22. ἐπὶ πολύ—*temporal*.

23. On ἀντίσχουσαν (=διὰ τὸ τὴν λ. ἀντίσχειν) see 6, 2 l. 19.

24. καὶ ἐν—the art. not repeated, as often in Thuc. (6, 1), even when the two members are contrasted.

25. ξέφερον—sc. οἱ ληστεύοντες. They plundered not only one another but those who, though not sea-farers, lived on the coasts (=παραθαλάσσιοι ἡσαν).

PAGE 7.

1. οἱ νησιώται—the island *barbarians* were pirates οὐχ ἡσσον ἢ οἱ Ἑλλῆνες.

3. ὡκησαν—previous to the time of Minos.

Δήλου—in 426 B.C.; iii. 104. The 'proof' applies only to the Carians, whence it may be inferred that the presence of Phoenicians in the islands was questioned by none.

6. ὑπὲρ ἡμισύ—subject, = πλεῖον τῶν ἡμισεων (though of course it might be taken as adverbial).

7. τῇ σκευῇ τῶν ὅπλων—lit. 'their equipment (consisting) of arms,' not 'the style of their arms.'

9. Here Thuc. resumes from c. 4.

πλωιμώτερα ἐγένετο—the neut. plur. as in 7, 1.

10. ἐκ τῶν νήσων—ἐκ for ἐν by (the regular method of) attraction to the verb.

11. διεπερ—'namely, when,' referring back to c. 4.

12. οἱ παρὰ θάλασσαν—cf. οἱ παρ' ἔπαλξιν ii. 13, 5. παρά with dat. not being used of *inanimates* except when *persons* are clearly implied.

15. τείχη περιεβάλλοντο—referring to cities already in existence, but hitherto without walls: hence not as in c. 7.

ώς πλουσιώτεροι ἔαντῶν γ.—the omission of *aiτοι* in this idiom is rare: 'as was natural, since they were now growing wealthier than they had been hitherto.'

16. γάρ refers to βεβαιότερον ὡκουν. The double *τε* presents the same process under two different aspects.

18. δουλεῖαν—'dependence,' as often; so with δουλεύειν. The weaker states became tributaries of the stronger.

περιουσίας ἔχοντες—usually rendered 'because they had wealth at their command' and used it to extend their power:

but more probably, 'having funds in hand' and being anxious to increase them. The more the funds increased, the more eager would they be to increase them still further.

20. **ἐν τούτῳ . . δύτες**—'when they had now advanced to this condition,' i.e. navigated the seas and were grown richer.

21. **ὑστερον χρόνῳ**—'in course of time.'

22. **'Α. τέ μοι δοκεῖ**—'and so it seems to me that it was because,' etc.

23. **οὐ τοσοῦτον** (*δσον προύχων*) with *δγων*, 'not so much because he was leader of . . , they being bound by their oaths to T.' Tyndareus, Helen's supposed father, made her suitors swear to protect the rights of that one whom she should choose.

26. Thuc. supports his view by reference to the origin of the kingship in Atreus' house.

27. **Πελοποννησίων**—*masc.*, with *οι*, 'those of the Pel. who have received the truest account by tradition.' For the order of the gen. edd. compare c. 48, 4; 126, 11. It is supposed that Thuc. means the Argives, whose legends the Lesbian historian Hellanicus related. A fragment of H. gives the story here referred to.

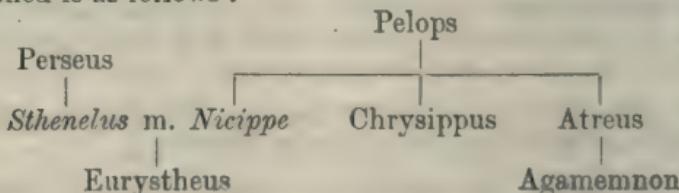
PAGE 8.

3. **τῇ έπωνυμίᾳν . . σχεῖν**—lit. 'secured the naming of the country after himself, though a stranger.'

έπηλυν—there is no authority for the form *έπηλύτης* in Attic. The passage in Xen. *Occ.* cited in L. & S. is corrupt.

4. **μείζω**—*neut. plur.*; **ξυνενεχθῆναι**, 'fell to the lot of,' as often in Herod. ; after Thuc. not found in Attic.

5. **Εύρυσθέως μέν κτλ.**—the relationship of the persons mentioned is as follows:—



ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ—according to the story, Eurystheus was killed in the Megarid (Euripides represents him as taken prisoner) when at war with Demophon, king of Athens, from

whom he had demanded the surrender of the Heraclidae. The Megarid was then part of Attica.

7. *καὶ ἐπιτρέψαντος Εὐ.*—there is parataxis here for *Ἄτρεῖ δὲ μητρὸς ἀδελφῷ δοντὶ ἐπιτρέψαντος.*

10. *Χρυσίππου*—Atreus and Thyestes conspired and murdered Ch. their half-brother.

12. *καὶ . . παραλαβεῖν*—co-ordinate with *Ἐπὶ μεῖζῳ ξινερχθῆναι . . Ἀτρεῖ.*

13. *καὶ ἄμα*—the *καὶ* joins *δοκοῦντα* to *βουλομένων.*

δυνατόν—i.e. in point of wealth.

17. *ἄ*—the wealth and power of the two families.

18. *καὶ ναυτικῷ*—the MSS. give *καὶ ναυτικῷ τε*, and two explanations are suggested: (1) *τε*=*too*, Shilleto; and (2) *τε*=*and*, while *καὶ* emphasises *ναυτικῷ*. vi. 44 *καὶ πρὸς τε τοὺς Πυγγίροις*, viii. 68. 2 *καὶ αὐτός τε*, ib. 76. 5 *καὶ ἑαυτούς τε* give rise to a similar question. The use of *τε* is supported by examples in Herod. and tragedy; but the MS. variants and certain examples of corruption in the case of *τε* are so numerous that it is very doubtful if the passages can be relied on. On the whole *καὶ . . δέ*=*and moreover* is more probable.

19. *ἰσχύσας*—ingressive.

20. *οὐ . . τὸ πλέον ή=ἡσσον ή.*

χάριτι . . φόβῳ—for the contrast cf. Demosth. 20 § 16 *μείζων ὁ τοῦ μέλλοντος φόβος τῆς παρούσης χάριτος*, but there it is the fear and good-will *felt*; here it is the feelings *inspired*.

21. *φαίνεται γάρ*—the passages referred to are II. ii. 576 *τῶν ἑκατὸν νεῶν ἡρῷε κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων*, and ii. 610 ff. *αὐτὸς γάρ σφιν δῶκεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων* ; *ηῆς*, and so on.

23. *ώς . . τοῦτο*—Shilleto refers to Plat. *Theact.* 193 D δ ἐν *τοῖς πρόσθεν οὕτως θελεγον* for a similar redundancy.

τῷ—‘in any one’s opinion.’ *Το τεκμηριώσαι* supply *τοῦτο*: it is only with ref. to the details that Thuc. suggests a doubt.

24. *ἐν τοῦ σκῆπτρου τῇ παραδόσει*—in the passage where the sceptre of Agamemnon is said to have been transmitted through his family; II. ii. 101 ff. For this method of referring to passages in times before the division into books, etc. was made cf. c. 10, 4; St. Mark xii. 26 *ἐπὶ τῆς βάστον*; Ep. Rom. xi. 2.

26. *οὐκ ἀν . . ἐκράτει*—‘he would not have been ruler’ (as

he was). Classen's version, 'he would not be (in the *Iliad*) ruler,' is less likely.

27. οὐκ ἀν εἰν—*M.T.* § 238.

PAGE 9.

2. καὶ ταύτη τῇ στρατείᾳ—i.e. this expedition itself was not on a very large scale: all the more insignificant must have been those undertakings that preceded it.

4. δτι μέν—lit. 'that M. was a small place, or if any of the towns of those days seems now insignificant—(this) could not be considered a valid argument for refusing to believe that,' etc. (1) The clauses introduced by *δτι* and *ει* form the object to *χρώμενος*. (2) The *μέν* is not regularly answered, but is resumed in *οὐκ οὖν ἀπιστεῖν χρή* (§ 3) after a long parenthesis. (3) *ἤν* may mean 'was before its destruction,' which is said by later writers to have occurred in 468 B.C. (there is no sufficient ground for doubting the statement). This is supported by *νῦν δοκεῖ* which refers to towns still in existence. Or it may be 'was in heroic times,' and this is supported by *τότε*. But, whichever be meant, the argument is not affected. The simple explanation of the insignificance of Mycenae—now of prime importance to the archaeologist—is that the only part that could be called 'city' was the acropolis, and that was occupied by the castle of the chief. The rest of the settlement consisted of the villages of the clans; and there is no sign that in historic times the villages ever gave way to a city. Thuc. represents the fact correctly.

9. λόγος κατέχει—*fama obtinet*; 'tradition affirms.'

Δακεδαιμονίων γάρ—there were no signs of magnificence about Sparta until after the triumphs of Lysander. Even then, its appearance, remote from the world and unfortified, must have been comparatively insignificant. It does not seem clear that Thuc. wrote this passage before 404 B.C.

11. κατασκευῆς—κ. includes everything that makes a place habitable and usable. Here 'buildings.'

13. πρός—'in comparison with.'

14. τῶν πέντε τὰς δύο μ.—'two-fifths.' ('Two of the five divisions' is, as Mr. Forbes remarks, wrong.) Of course Messenia is included in Laconia. Notice the way in which fractions are expressed. The gen. is omitted when the *denominator* is one higher than the *numerator*—as *τὰ τρία μέρη* = $\frac{3}{4}$.

15. τῆς ξυμπάστης—roughly speaking. In ii. 9 Thuc. ex-

pressly notes that Argos was not under the leadership of Sparta. But the omission here is of no importance, because we do not want an exact statement, but a general account of the power of Sparta.

16. *τῶν ἔξω ξ.*—‘their allies beyond P., who are many.’

17. *πόλεως*—for *τῆς πόλεως*, ‘since the city was not compactly built.’ For the omission of art. Steup compares iv. 18, 3 and viii. 95, 2. (Mr. Forbes’s rendering ‘when a city is not built continuously’ is disproved by the fact that *ἡ δύναμις Λακεδαιμονίων*—and not *the power of any city*—must be supplied to *φαίνοτ’ ἄν.* Herbst’s view that *πόλεως* is *predicative*—‘since it has not been brought together into a compact city’—is inconsistent with *Λακεδαιμονίων ἡ πόλις* above.)

18. *κατασκευαῖς*—the plur. in concrete sense, as in ii. 65, 2.

21. *διπλασίαν . . . ή*—these compds. are constructed as comparatives: *πολλαπλάσιοι τὸν ἐναντίων* iv. 94; *πολλαπλάσιοι ἡ ἡλθον* ib. 127; *διπλάσια δοῦναι ἡ ἀλλω τινὶ* Lysias 19.

22. *εἰκάζεσθαι* depends on *οἶμαι*.

ἀπὸ τῆς φ. δύνεως—not ‘from the notable or striking appearance’ (Forbes), but ‘from the *mere* (external) appearance.’ *φανερός* is, as usual, what is seen, and *δύσις* is the appearance *in contrast with the reality*, as in vi. 31 *τῇ δύσι ἀνεθάρσον* (where my rendering ‘by the sight’ is also wrong).

26. *μεγίστην μὲν γ.*—‘proved, it is true.’ 84—‘and yet.’ For *τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς* cf. 1, 1.

λειπομένην with gen. as vi. 72 *οὐδενὸς λειπόμενος*.

PAGE 10.

1. *ἥν*—rel. to *στρατείαν*. According to the regular principle in Greek, the following clause, to which the nom. is supplied from *ἥν*, is without the rel. In the second clause the rel. is often replaced by the required case of *αὐτός* or *οὗτος*—ii. 4, 5, *δὴ τὸν τείχους καὶ αἱ θέραι ἀνεῳγμέναι ἔτυχον αὐτοῦ*. vii. 29, 5 *διπερ μέγιστον ἥν καὶ ἅρι τέτυχον οἱ παῖδες εἰσεληλυθότες*. It is the repetition of the rel. that is unusual, as in vi. 4, 3 *τὸ χωρίον οὐ νῦν ἡ πόλις ἔστι καὶ δὲ πρῶτον ἔτειχισθη*. If, however, the first clause is neg. and the second pos., the rel. must be repeated, as in ii. 43, 2 *οὐκ ἐγ ϕέ κεῖνται μᾶλλον, ἀλλ' ἐγ ϕέ ἡ δόξα καταλείπεται*. The same omission or substitution is frequent in Lat., as Liv. xxiii. 8 *cum quo steterat nec cum patria majestas sententia deputerat*. In Engl. cf. Hooker, *Eccles. Pol.* ‘Whom though to know be life, and joy to make mention of His name.’

Johnson, *Tour in Heb.* 'we treated her with great respect, which she received as customary, and was neither elated by it, nor confused.' Macaulay, *Warren Hastings* 'To whom she seemed to listen, but did not hear them.'

ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον κοσμῆσαι—'exaggerate by using his fancy.'

3. **ἐνδεεστέρα**—'comparatively insignificant.'

πεποίηκε γάρ—'out of a fleet of 1200 ships the poet has described those of the B. as carrying 120 men (*ἐν δὲ ἐκάστη | κοῦροι Βοιωτῶν ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι βαῖνον Il. ii. 510*), and those of Ph. as carrying 50 (*ἐρέται δ' ἐν ἐκάστη πεντήκοντα | ἐμβέβασαν, τέξων εὐ εἰδότες οὐφι μάχεσθαι ib. 719*), specifying the largest and the smallest.' **ἀνδρῶν** is gen. of measure, as in *τεῖχος ἐπὶ τὰ σταδίων*, almost confined to expressions of magnitude. The absence of a second art. with *ἐλαχίστας* is interesting: Shilleto rightly compares Aesch. *Ag.* 314 *νικᾷ δ' ὁ πρῶτος καὶ τελευταῖος δραμῶν*, where the reference is to a team, of which every member wins; just as here the two things combined are items of one fleet. As to the numbers, in Thuc.'s time the average complement of a trireme was 200. Therefore a fleet of 1200 would require 240,000 men: but the rationalistic calculation of Thuc. gives about 103,000 for the Trojan War. Of course 103,000 is a far larger number than was sent out by any one state in the time of Thuc. The number of men who sailed for Sicily in 415 B.C. may be roughly set down as 36,000. But § 5 shows that Thuc. thinks of the combined forces of all Greek states, and the forces in the field during the Peloponnesian War would exceed his calculation for the Trojan War. (It seems, nevertheless, that Thuc. has not made out a very satisfactory case: *τῶν νῦν* in § 3 should have been qualified.)

7. **ἄλλων** depends on *μεγέθους*.

8. **αὐτερέται**—the fighting men served also as rowers. This was quite unusual in Thuc.'s day. See *Il.* 719 quoted above.

9. **ἐν**—as *ἐν . . παραδόσει* c. 9, 4, and *ἐν νεῶν καταλόγῳ* above.

11. **περίνεως**—the only passengers would be the kings and those immediately under them.

13. **μέλλοντας . . ἔχοντας**—though these agree with *περίνεως*, they apply in sense equally to all the Greeks. We should expect *gen. abs.*

14. **μετὰ σκευῶν**—the want of *space* is what Thuc. alludes to. The room not taken up by the rowers would be filled with materials.

15. **κατάφαρκτα**—i.e. the boats had no gangways projecting along them. These gangways (*πάροδοι*) were used only in ships with a deep draught, and Thuc. means that, as there were none in 'Homeric' ships, those ships can have had only a small draught, and therefore there was not much room in them. At intervals along the *πάροδοι* were upright posts, and the open spaces between could be closed with curtains (*παραρρύματα*) in battle or rough weather, and thus served in a trireme to protect the bodies of the *θρανῖται* (top set of rowers). The word is generally explained 'decked'; but so far as one can judge, the only connexion between *κατάστρωμα*, the deck from end to end, and *κατάφαρκτος* is that only ships that were *κατάφαρκτοι* had *καταστρώματα*. The Homeric ships, it is true, had no *καταστρώματα*, but this is not the point here.

16. **ληστικώτερον**—'more like pirate craft' than warships.

17. **πρός**—'as compared with.' **σκοποῦντι** is dat. of the person judging, a frequent use of a partic. ; cf. c. 21, 2

19. **ὡς**—'considering that.'

21. **αἴτιον**—this predicate, so often in neut. sing. whatever be gender and number of the subject, is practically a noun.

23. **τε**—answered by *έπειδη δέ*, as e.g. in vi. 83, 1 ; vii. 81 ; and c. 25, 3.

24. **ὅσον**—'only so large as.' **αὐτόθεν** with **βιοτεύσειν**, 'support itself in the (enemy's) country.'

25. **ἀφικόμενοι**—'on their arrival,' i.e. immediately after they landed. (This passage, from this word to the end of § 2, is much disputed.)

26. **μάχη ἐκράτησαν**—the conjecture *ἐκρατήθησαν* reduces the words *τοῖς αἰεὶ . . ὅντες* below to absurdity; and *κρατῶντες* would have to be changed to *κρατήσαντες*. The Greeks were able to raise a rampart because they had won a victory.

τὸ γάρ—'for otherwise.' This rampart is not that referred to in *Il.* vii. 336 and 433 as built in the tenth year by the counsel of Nestor, but one built immediately after the arrival of the Greeks, though this does not necessitate inserting *εὐθὺς* after *ἄν* with Dittrich. Similarly the *γεωργία τῆς Χερσονήσου* below is not heard of in the *Il.* Thuc. doubtless got these details from a poem that related the earlier events of the war. Cf. the Schol. here: *ἔρυμα λέγει νῦν οὐχ ὅπερ ἐν τῇ η' λέγει* "Ομηρος γενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ πρότερον μικρότερον διὰ τὰς τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιδουνάς. (Strabo quotes the opinion of Aristotle

that the *τεῖχος* of *Il.* 7, which was so promptly destroyed by Poseidon, was in reality never built. It seems impossible that Thuc. can have had that *τεῖχος* in mind.)

27. **φαίνονται δέ**—this is *δέ* in *apodosis*, and it is here apparently suggested by the contrast set up by the parenthesis: *though* they fortified a camp, they did not employ their whole force. This *δέ* generally follows a parenthesis; but not in ii. 65, 1 ἐπειδὴ ὁ πόλεμος κατέστη, ὁ δέ φαίνεται καὶ ἐν τούτῳ προγνούσ τὴν δύναμιν.

28. **ἐνταῦθα**—before Troy; and consequently the Trojans held out.

PAGE 11.

2. **αὐτῶν**—‘of their own accord.’

τὰ δέκα ἔτη—‘those ten years.’

3. **βίᾳ**—‘in the field.’ They were not penned up in the city.

ὑπολειπομένοις—imperf., ‘who at any given time were left behind.’

7. **ράδιως ἀν μάχῃ . . . Τροίαν εἷλον**—does this passage refer to ‘the two natural stages of the expedition’—battle followed by siege, or two *alternative* means of taking Troy,—either by pitched battle outside the gates, or by siege? Those who adopt the first, either (a) bracket the first *εἷλον* with Krüger as spurious, and explain the *δ'* after *πολιορκίᾳ* as (a violent) apodotic *δέ*, or, with Krüger bracket it; or else (b) make the first *εἷλον* mean, *not* ‘capture (Troy),’ but, with Herbst, ‘defeat (the Trojans).’ Those who adopt the second with Bauer, make *μάχῃ κρατοῦντες*=‘by superiority in the field,’ and not ‘being as they were superior in the field’; and *πολιορκίᾳ προσκαθεξόμενοι*=‘by a regular siege,’ instead of ‘by persisting in a siege.’ But the difficulties involved in this are insuperable; for—apart from the extraordinary way in which the supposed alternative methods are expressed, and joined by *δέ* instead of *ἢ*—the sense obtained, though at first sight attractive, makes *περιουσίαν ἔχοντες τροφῆς* and *ξυνεχῶς τὸν πόλεμον διέφερον* pointless in so far as the *first* method—superiority in the field+assault—is concerned; it necessitates forcing the meaning ‘by an immediate assault’ (*κατὰ κράτος*) into *μάχῃ κρατοῦντες*, and thus making this wholly distinct from *μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν* in § 1; and it strains no less the meaning of *πολιορκίᾳ προσκαθεξόμενοι*. We therefore prefer the

first plan, but slightly modified : if the first *εἶλον* is genuine, it is probably a mere anticipation of the second. Trans. 'If they had . . . carried on the war persistently, they would easily have continued superior in the field and have taken the city, seeing that . . . : if, then, they had persisted in a siege, they would have taken Troy.' *προσκαθεζόμενοι* governs *πολιορκίᾳ*.

11. *ἀλλά*—in contrast with *περιουσίαν εἰ ἥλθον ἔχοντες τροφῆς τούτων*—i.e. *τῶν Τρωικῶν*.

13. *τῶν πρίν*—c. 1, 1; 10, 3.

γενόμενα—'though it proved.'

15. *κατεσχηκότος*—attributive. When an attributive partic. is itself further defined—*διὰ τοὺς ποιητὰς κατ.*—it is frequently placed outside the art. This idiom is by no means confined to Thuc.

16. *μετανιστατο*—'Greece (i.e. the Greeks) was still occupied with migration and settlement, so that the country did not quiet down (*ingressive*) and so increase.' *Ἐλλάς* here is used as in c. 6, for the Greek nation—*ἡ Ἑ. ἐσιδηροφόρει*—and this explains (a) the use of *μετανιστατο*. (b) the accus. *ἡσυχάσασαν*, for which, as it refers to the subject of the main verb, *ἡσυχάσασα* would be expected. *Ἐλλάς* takes a slightly different meaning after the *ώστε*. A similar change of meaning may be detected in vii. 34, 6 *ναυμαχήσαντες δὲ ἀντίπαλα καὶ ὡς αὐτοῖς ἐκατέρους ἀξιοῦν νικᾶν*, where the *ώς*-clause is *general* in sense, 'the way in which both sides lay claim to victory.'

17. *ώστε μὴ ἡ. αἰξηθῆναι*—the *μὴ* belongs to both partic. and infin., and *ώστε . . . αἰξηθῆναι* expresses *ἀχρηματία*.

20. *ἐνεόχμωσε*=*ἐνεωτέρισε*. In sense this is *pluperf.* The verb occurs in Herod., but only here in Attic. Thuc. thought of the fate of Agamemnon, Teucer, and other heroes.

καὶ στάσεις—two things are not clear, (1) whether the disturbances alluded to are intended to be connected with the return from Troy, or merely to be an explanation of *ώστε μὴ ἡσυχάσασαν αὐτόν*; (2) how *Βοιωτοὶ τε γάρ* is connected with what precedes. The passage is commonly referred to as though *γάρ* introduced an illustration of the *στάσεις*, but Steup (who thinks *γάρ* spurious) rightly points out that we hear nothing of *στάσεις* in the matter of the migrations referred to. If *γάρ* is retained, we must assume that the migrations are introduced as an illustration of the general unrest that continued; i.e. the *γάρ* refers rather to § 1 than to the immediately preceding sentence.

21. ὡς ἐπὶ πολύ—‘for the most part,’ ‘in most cases.’

ἀφ’ ὧν—‘as the result of which,’ referring to στάσεις.

22. τὰς πόλεις—prob. the article is distributive=cities in each instance. (Others, ‘the well-known cities’: but this is rightly objected to by several edd. as a strange assumption of knowledge and as clashing awkwardly with ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν.)

23. οἱ νῦν—meaning *not* that the Boeotians had changed their name, but the Boeotians ‘as we know them now,’ i.e. as inhabiting all Boeotia, instead of dwelling partly in Thessaly and partly in Boeotia.

έξηκοστῷ ἔτει—the instances seem to be chosen in order to show that disturbances continued *for a long period* after the war.

μετὰ Ἰλίου ἀλωσιν—the art. replaced by a gen., as in διὰ χρόνου πλῆθος c. 1, 2.

26. ἀποδασμός—i.e. a part that had *voluntarily* separated from the main body, not ἀνάσταντες, like the rest. The word only here in Attic; but cf. Φωκέες ἀποδάσμοι Herod. i. 146.

27. ἀφ’ ὧν—the plur. κατὰ σύνεσιν. The ref. is to *Il.* ii. 494, where the Boeotians, however, possess the chief cities of Boeotia.

PAGE 12.

2. Εσχον—cf. σχεῖν, c. 9, 2.

3. ἡσυχάσασα βεβαίως—‘gaining unbroken rest and no longer subject to violent changes.’ Notice the ingressive aor. and imperf. combined.

5. Ἰωνας—the Ionian cities of Asia Minor. νησιωτῶν—the Cyclades; cf. c. 4. Isocr. *Panath.* 43.

6. Ἰταλίας—i.e. the *modern* Calabria, the peninsula reaching to the Læs on W. and to Metapontum on E. ‘The chief Peloponnesian founders of Sicilian and Italian cities were the Corinthians who founded Syracuse, and through Syracuse, Camarina [Acrae and Casmene], the Megarians who founded the Hyblaean Megara, and through Megara, Selinus: the Achaeans who founded Sybaris and Croton, some Lacedaemonians who founded Tarentum,’ (Forbes). But (1) Megara is not part of the Peloponnese (ii. 9), see next note; (2) it is not clear that Tarentum is reckoned in Italy.

8. Εστιν ἡ χωρία—it is supposed that the colonies of Corinth in the W., Corcyra, Leucas, Ambracia, etc. are referred

to. If so (1) *τὸ πλεῖστον* above is an exaggeration : (2) Ἐλλάς is here used for all the country ultimately inhabited by Greeks—as in Thuc.'s time : but Ἐλλάς was not so used above : (3) the vagueness of the reference to these colonies is strange. Steup gets over all these difficulties by taking ἔστιν ἡ χωρία as *nom.*, so that the Megarian see last note, Locrian and Chalcidian colonies would be included. This is tempting, and for the use of χωρία we might compare vii. 14 *τὰ τρέφοντα ηγᾱς χωρία τῆς Ἰταλίας, ὅποντα ἐν φέρεταινεν.* But it must be confessed that (1) ἔστιν ἡ looks like an antithesis to *τὸ πλεῖστον* : (2) *πιντα δέ ταῦτα* appears to refer to *ἔστιν ἡ χωρία* as well as to the colonies mentioned before. Perhaps Thuc. writes somewhat vaguely here.

11. ἔτι . . . ἡ πρότερον—referring to c. 8, 3.

12. *τὰ πολλά*—‘in most cases.’

13. *τῶν προσόδων μ. γιγνομένων*—this goes closely with *καθισταντο*, ‘tyrannies were established where the revenues of the government) increased.’ But *δινατωτέρας . . ποιομένης* is a general statement with regard to Greece, and qualifies the whole sentence down to *ἀντείχοντο*. Thuc. means that a tyranny was generally established in a city enjoying a large revenue, which one man, whether a member of the governing class or not, succeeded in getting into his hands as the result of political agitation.

14. *πρότερον δέ*—not necessarily *immediately* before, for in most cases oligarchy preceded tyranny, but ‘in earlier days’ where one man ruled, his power was limited.

ἐπὶ ῥήτορις γέραστι—‘with’ (under the condition of) ‘fixed prerogatives,’ viz. as priest, judge and leader (Arist. *Pol.* iii. 14, 12). The purpose of this parenthesis is to point out that the rule of a single man, though it was known before the age of the tyrants, had been of a wholly different character. The age of the tyrants synchronises with an advance in Greece : yet the deeds even of the tyrants were relatively insignificant. As to tyranny, Aristotle agrees with Thuc. : ἐπεὶ δὲ χείρος γενόμενοι ἔχρηματιζόντο ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν, ἐντεῦθεν ποθεν εἴλογος γενέσθαι τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας . . ἐκ δὲ τούτων πρώτον εἰς τυραννίδας μετέβαλον.

17. *ἔγγυτα*—superlative of *ἔγγι*'s. Cf. *proper* and *propius*.

18. *μεταχειρίσαται*—Thuc., like Herod., uses the act. of this word, whereas other authors use mid.

19. *καὶ . . ναυπηγθῆναι*—*καὶ* = ‘and in fact,’ the building of a trireme marking a climax in naval affairs (*τὰ περὶ τὰς ναῦς*).

τῆς Ἑλλάδος goes with *πρῶτον*: cf. ii. 18 ἀφίκετο τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐς Οἰνόην πρῶτον. Herod. i. 163 πρῶτη δὲ Φωκαὶ τὴν Ἰωνίην ἐπεχείρησε.—The *τετρήρης* made its appearance in the second half of the fourth cent., and was the normal type of ship in the hellenistic period. It is not likely that it had four banks of oars.

22. *ναῦς*—whether these were triremes or not does not appear.

23. *τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου*—the dates given are circ. 704 and 664 B.C. (or, if the Archidamian War is meant, see Introd. p. xxvi, circ. 721 and 681 B.C.).

24. *ὅτε*—‘since.’

Σαμίοις ἦλθε—the dat. after (simple) verbs of motion is common in tragedy, but does not occur in Attic prose outside Thuc. ; ep. c. 27, 1 ; 61, 1 ; 107, 7.

25. *γίγνεται*—‘turns out to be.’

26. *καὶ ταύτῃ*—lit. ‘this too reckons 260 years.’ The *kai* brings the battle into relation with the event above. (Thuc. seems to be maintaining the priority of Corinth against some other claimant.) The *ταύτῃ* is possessive dat., as Herod. ii. 145 ‘Ηρακλέι ὅσα φασὶ εἶναι ἔτεα ἐς Ἀμασιν.

PAGE 13.

1. *τὴν πόλιν*—‘their city.’

2. *αἰεὶ δή ποτε*—as *δή ποτε* means ‘in the past’ (frequent in tragedy), so *αἰεὶ δή ποτε*=always in the past, i.e. ‘from the earliest times.’

3. *τῶν Ἑλλήνων . . ἐπιμισγόντων*—two points are made: (1) the early commerce of the Greeks was carried on mainly by land, (2) the Isthmus was on the high-road between *οἱ ἐντός* and *οἱ ἔξω* II. The sentence would be much clearer with a partic. like *πορευομένων*, as proposed by Steup, after ‘*Ἑλλήνων*, so that *τε* would mean ‘and.’

7. *ἀφνειόν*—we have only one instance, *Il.* ii. 570.

9. *μᾶλλον ἐπλωζον*—cf. c. 8, 2.

τὰς ναῦς—the ships referred to in § 2. These enabled Greece to extinguish piracy, and thus to further her commerce; and the outcome of that, it is implied, was the formation of a considerable fleet.

11. *ἀμφότερα* with *παρέχοντες*, ‘in both ways,’ i.e. as the

context shows, by sea and land. *ἀμφότερα* and *κατ' ἀμφότερα* do not of themselves mean 'on both elements,' but show the same accus. as *τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον*, and *κατὰ πολλοὺς τρόπους*. It is the context that gives the special meaning.

ἴσχον—ingressive.

12. **Ιωσιν**—those of Asia Minor, among whom the Phocaean and Samos are specially mentioned.

13. **ἐπὶ Κύρου**—556-529 B.C.

16. **Κύρῳ πολεμοῦντες**—they were ultimately reduced by Harpagus. Cf. c. 16.

17. **ἐπὶ Καρβύσου**—C. reigned 529-521 B.C. Polycrates ruled 532-521 B.C. According to Herod. iii. 164, Samos was *πολιών πασέων πρώτη Ἑλληνίδων καὶ βαρβάρων* in the time of Polycrates.

19. **Πηνείαν ἐλάν**—Herod. iii. 39 assigns far more imposing achievements to Polycrates: cf. ib. 122 *τῆς δὲ ἀνθρωπίνης* (i.e. not 'heroic,' like Minos) *λεγομένης γενεῆς Πολυκρατης πρώτος, ἐλπίδας πολλὰς ἔχων Ιωνίης τε καὶ νήσων ἀρξειν.* This gift was made to the Delian Apollo as the Ionian deity.

21. **Μασσαλίαν οἰκήσοντες**—'at the time when they founded Massilia.' Herod. i. 166 gives an account of a victory of the Etruscans and Carthaginians about 546 B.C., the time of which Thuc. is here speaking. But Eusebius and others placed the foundation of Marseilles 600 B.C.: there is plainly a discrepancy in the dates given for its foundation. (Classen in the 3rd ed. took *ἐνίκων* to mean 'gained victories,' and referred them to 600 B.C.; but Thuc. is plainly referring to circ. 546 B.C. See Steup's appendix.)

22. **ταῦτα γάρ**—'these, in fact, were the strongest navies,' i.e. the strongest possessed by Ionians (cf. § 6).

23. **φαίνεται** with *χρώμενα* and *ἔξηρτυμένα*: 'though these fleets were built . . . we find' etc.

25. **πεντηκοντόροις**—Gardner and Jevons, p. 652. It is plain from Herod. i. 163 that penteconters counted as *νῆσ μακραί*, and stand in contrast to *νῆσ στρογγύλαι*, merchant-ships (cf. Thuc. ii. 97, 1). Therefore the *πλοῖα μακρά* are doubtless long ships of larger and smaller size than penteconters. To their resemblance in size to merchant-ships the word *πλοῖα* seems to point.

26. **ἐκείνα**—those existing in the time of the Trojan War.

27. **τοῦ Δαρείου θανάτου**—485 B.C. *ιβασίλευσε*, 'reigned,' rather than 'became king.'

29. *περὶ τε Σικελίαν*—for the vague use of *περὶ* cf. Isocr. v. 111 *εἶχε μεγίστην δύναμιν τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν*. This is the age of the great Sicilian tyrants—Thero, Gelo, Hiero.

30. *ἐσ πλῆθος ἐγένοντο*—‘reached a considerable number’; probably the lit. sense is ‘came to.’

PAGE 14.

3. *εἰ τινες ἀλλοι*—sc. *ἐκέκτηντο ναυτικά*.

4. *βραχέα*—sc. *ναυτικά*, ‘small fleets.’ This sense of *βραχύς* is frequent in Thuc.

5. *τὰ πολλά*—‘the greater part of these consisted of.’

όψε τε ἀφ' οὐ—sc. *ἡν*, ‘it was late when.’ For *ἀφ' οὐ* we should expect *ὅτε*: but instead of saying ‘already when they started to build, it was so late that they could not get a strong fleet before the invasion of Xerxes,’ he says ‘from the time that they started’ etc. The building of the ships took place in 483–82 B.C., the archonship of Nicodemus, and the invasion in 480 B.C. Herod. vii. 144 does not say that Them. looked forward to a Persian invasion when he advised the building of the ships. It is thought that Herod. wanted to belittle Them.

9. *ἐναυμάχησαν*—at Salamis.

διὰ πάσης—‘throughout,’ an adverbial expression like *ἀπὸ τῆς ἡσης* c. 15; *ἀπὸ (τῆς) πρώτης*, etc. (This is better than supplying *νεώς*.)

10. *καταστρώματα*—the Homeric ship was covered only fore and aft, the part in which the men rowed being open. (Cf. on c. 10, 4.)

12. *τὰ παλαιά*—i.e. the early fleets mentioned in c. 13. *τὰ ὕστερον γενόμενα*—i.e. those mentioned in c. 14 § 3.

14. *οὐκ ἐλαχίστην*—‘considerable,’ in spite of smallness of the fleets.

αὐτοῖς—*τοῖς ναυτικοῖς*.

χρημάτων προσόδῳ—see c. 13 § 5. The possession of a fleet enabled them still further to increase their trade.

16. *τὰς νήσους κ.*—‘began to’ or ‘endeavoured to reduce the islands.’ The enterprise of Athens and Corinth is alluded to, as in (*ἐκεῖνοι*) *δσοι μῆ*.

18. *θεν τις*—‘as the result of which any considerable force was brought together,’ or ‘from which any considerable power was gained.’ This seems to be the meaning, corresponding

to *ισχὺν δὲ κτλ.* above. But *παραγίγνομαι* in Thuc. of troops regularly means 'be assembled in the field,' and with dat. 'come to the support of.' 'To be added to' is *προσγίγνομαι*. Hence many edd. render 'in consequence of which any considerable force was collected.' *δθεν* is then strange.

ξυνέστη—frequently used in this connexion from Herod. downwards.

22. **οὐ γάρ ξυνειστήκεσαν**—'they were not joined to the strongest states as subjects, nor yet did they of their own accord unite on an equal footing for a campaign.'

25. **κατ' ἄλληλους**—*inter se.*

ώς ἔκαστοι—cf. c. 3 § 4. Strictly *ἐπολέμουν* is supplied with *ώς*, but the phrase practically becomes a distributive numeral

27. **Χαλκιδέων καὶ Ἐρετριῶν**—the date of this war, fought for the possession of the Lelantian plain, is unknown. Herod. says that Samos helped Chalcis and Miletus helped Eretria, and of course both sides must have attracted many other allies. The ultimate cause of the war was commercial rivalry. (Busolt i. p. 313.)

PAGE 15.

1. **καὶ τὸ ἄλλο 'Ε**—'the rest of the Greeks also took sides as allies of the one or the other.'

2. **ἐπεγένετο**—often of unfavourable occurrences, especially of anything sudden and unexpected, such as natural phenomena.

3. **ἄλλοθι**—'in different parts.'

μή—according to the constr. with verbs of hindrance (M. T. 749, 807), though *κωλέω* generally has the simple infin.

4. **καὶ**—'and in particular.'—*Ιωσὶ* is governed both by *προχωρησάντων* and by *ἐπεστράτευσε*. There is an *anacoluthon* at *ἐπεστράτευσε*, for strictly *ἐπεγένετο* should govern *Ιωσὶ* with an abstract noun parallel to *κωλύματα* for its subject.

6. **βασιλεία**—mss. authority is altogether in favour of this against *ἔξουσία*, and *ἔξουσία* does not seem to occur before Aristotle in this sense. Stahl thinks *βασιλεία* is a gloss on *ἔξουσία*. But it is possible that *ἔξουσία* itself is a gloss. The matter is complicated by the fact that both *βασιλεία* and *ἔξουσία* have a double sense (*ἔξουσία*, 'power to do a thing,' a 'power'; cf. *βασιλεία τὸ ἀξιωμα καὶ τὸ θνος βασιλευόμενον*, Suidas). Of course here the sense is concrete.

Κροῖσον—the destruction of the Lydian monarchy was 546 B.C., Herod. i. 87 etc.

ὅσα—a part. of *εἰμι* is constantly omitted after *ὅσος*.

ἐντὸς "Αλνος ποταμοῦ—*ἐντὸς* from the Greek point of view. When *ποταμός* is added the *art.* is regularly inserted before the name of a river in Attic. But Herod. does not use the *art.*, and Thuc. omits it in six passages. The only other known exx. are Isocr. 7, 80 (also *ἐντὸς* "Αλνος π.) and Xen. *Anab.* iv. 7, 18.

9. **καὶ τὰς νήσους**—according to Herod. i. 169, when the Ionian cities of the mainland submitted to Harpagus, the islands also gave in; but no doubt the submission of the islands was incomplete. Otherwise the rise of Polycrates would be unaccountable. Thuc. alludes to their reduction after Lade, 494 B.C.

10. **τύραννοι**—see c. 13 § 1. The course of the argument was there broken by the reference to the fleets, which were first dealt with.

11. **τὸ ἑφ' ἑαυτῶν**—‘their own interests.’

12. **τὸ σῶμα**—‘with regard to their personal good and the increase of their own estate.’ *σῶμα* includes safety and enjoyment.

14. **δι' ἀσφαλεῖας . . . μάλιστα**=*ὅσον ἐδύναντο ἀσφαλέστατα*. ‘Had the utmost regard for security in the administration of their cities,’ i.e. ‘pursued a cautious policy’ by avoiding great enterprises. *δι' ἀσφαλεῖας* is an adverbial phrase, like those with which *ἔχειν* is usually found, as *δι' ἐπιμελεῖας*, *δι' ἡσυχίας*, *διὰ φυλακῆς*.

15. **ἀπ' αὐτῶν**—‘on their part.’

16. **εἰ μὴ εἴ τι**—*εἰ μὴ εἰ*, *nisi si*, only here in Thuc. (see crit. note). *εἰ μὴ* becomes an adverb. *M.T.* 476, 4.

17. **οἱ γάρ**—for the use of *γάρ* cf. c. 14, 1. ‘The Sicilian tyrants in fact attained to the *greatest* power,’ i.e. greater power than any other of the tyrants (and they fought against their neighbours). The sense of *πλεῖστον* here is that of c. 1 § 2 *ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀνθρώπων*. There is no need for excision.

18. **οὕτω πανταχόθεν**—summing up the whole from c. 13.

19. **κατείχετο**—‘was held in check,’ ‘constrained.’ Cf. c. 16; but the second clause, *κατὰ πόλεις τε* shows that *κατείχετο* is felt here not as a verb of *prevention*, but of *compulsion*.

22. **Ἀθηναῖων**—the overthrow of Hippias, 510 B.C.

23. *οἱ ἐκ τῆς*—the prep. by attraction to *κατελύθησαν*.

ἐπὶ πολὺ κτλ.—lit. ‘which over a large area had been under tyrants even before Athens.’ The earliest instance was at Sicyon, where Orthagoras became tyrant circ. 670 B.C.

24. *οἱ πλεῖστοι . . Σικελίᾳ*—limiting apposition to *οἱ τύραννοι, καὶ . . Σικελίᾳ* explaining *πλεῖστοι*, ‘most of them, the last in fact except those in Sicily.’ In Syracuse the tyrants lasted till 466 B.C., when Thrasybulus was expelled.

25. *ὑπὸ Δακεδαιμονίων*—the Spartans were called *μισοτύραννοι*. Cf. Aristotle, *Pol.* v. 10 Δακ. *πλεῖστας κατέλυσαν τυραννίδας*. But their traditional policy of tyrant-breaking was dropped in the fourth cent., when *αὐτονομία* became their watchword. Thus in 371 B.C. an orator is represented by Xen. as taunting the Spartans with preferring tyranny to free institutions. Alcibiades in his speech at Sparta (vi. 89—winter of 415–4 B.C.) makes a point out of this tradition.

27. *τὴν κτίσιν*—strictly speaking the Dorians did not found Sparta: it existed before the invasion; but there is no difficulty in speaking of the second founders thus.

PAGE 16

1. *Δὴν ἰσμεν*=*ἐκείνων οὐς ἰσμεν*. The *στάσις* lasted longer at Sparta than elsewhere: cf. Herod. i. 65, the Spartans before Lycurgus *κακονομάτατοι ἦσαν σχεδὸν πάντων Ἑλλήνων κατά τε σφέας αὐτοῖς καὶ ξείνουσι ἀπρόσωποι*. In spite of this, they were the earliest to obtain good laws—*μετέβαλον ἐς εἰνοιήν* (Herod. i.c.)=*ηὐνομήθη*.

4. *τετρακόσια*—this gives a later date than 884 B.C. which other authorities assign to Lycurgus.

7. *δυνάμενοι*=*δυνατοί δύντες*, see L. & S.

8. *μετὰ δέ*—the main sentence is resumed after the parenthesis. Cf. the use of *δέ* (*δ' οὖν*) in e. 11, 1; *οὖν* in vii. 42, 3; *δέ* is frequent. So *autem, scil, igitur*.

τὴν κατάλυσιν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος—the art. is not repeated with a verbal substantive. The words necessary to complete its sense generally follow, but sometimes precede it, as in ii. 18, 3 *κατὰ τὴν ἀλληλην πορειαν ἡ σχολαιότης*. In the latter case, the prepositional phrase is connected with the *verb* of the sentence (cf. ii. 7, 2; 38, 1) as well as with the verbal substantive.

10. *καὶ ἡ ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχη*—i.e. now begins the *modern* period, *τὰ Μηδικά*.

12. **τῷ μ. στόλῳ**—‘the great armada.’

14. **ἐπικρεμασθέντος**—‘impending,’ as ii. 53, 4; iii. 40, 7.

16. **τῶν ξυμπολεμησάντων**—this and **ἡγήσαντο** are ingressive; ‘assumed the leadership of those who entered on the war as allies.’ **προύχοντες**—causal.

19. **καὶ ἀνασκευασάμενοι . . ἐσβάντες . . ἐγένοντο = ἀναλαβόντες τὰ σκείν ἐσέβησαν καὶ ἐγένοντο.** Observe the historical importance of **ναυτικοὶ ἐγένοντο**, which is emphasised by its connexion with **ἡγήσαντο τῶν Ἑλλήνων**.

20. **ἀπωσάμενοι . . διεκρίθησαν**—the subject modified in the course of the sentence from ‘the confederates’ to the confederates exclusive of Athens and Sparta, and those Asiatic cities and islands that revolted from Persia after Salamis.

24. **ταῦτα**—Athens and Sparta. **διεφάνη**—‘it had become clear that,’ denoting the singling out of these two from among the rest. The aor. in sense of plup. appears in (1) sentences introduced by ‘when,’ ‘since,’ ‘until’ regularly; (2) in rel. and other subord. sentences often; (3) in principal sentences occasionally.

26. **δμαιχμία**—used by Herod. and late writers; the adj. **δμαιχμος** in iii. 58, 4.

27. **διενεχθέντες**—open war in 457 B.C., dispute in 461 B.C. See c. 102. **ἐπολέμησαν**—till the thirty years’ truce 445 B.C. See c. 107.

PAGE 17.

4. **ἥδη ἔχώρουν**—‘now regularly joined these states’—i.e. entered the alliance of Athens or Sparta. Contrast the earlier state of affairs, c. 15, 2 οὐ γὰρ **ξυνειστήκεσαν κτλ.**

5. **τὰ μὲν σπενδόμενοι**—this should mean ‘now making truces’; but we certainly expect ‘being now at peace.’ In the previous sentences Thuc. has described the state of affairs (a) from the battle of Salamis to 457 B.C., (b) from 457 onwards. Now during period (a) Athens and Sparta were at peace; but from 466 disputes began between Athens and her allies. During period (b) Athens and Sparta might be said to be ‘making truces’ (450, 445 B.C.) or making war. The **ώστε** therefore seems to refer to what happened from 466 onwards; but **ἀπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν**—the war with Xerxes to the battle of Plataea (or Mycale) does not agree with this. There is a want of precision in the passage.

7. εν παρεσκευάσαντο τὰ πολέμια—cf. Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 23 of the Athenians, συνέβη τὰ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀσκῆσαι. τὰ πολέμια in the sense of τὰ πολεμικά is found in Herod. and Hippocrates; Xen. *Anab.* i. 6, 1: Arist. *Ath. Pol.* c. 3 and 23.

11. ἤγουντο—sc. αἰτῶν.

κατ' ὀλιγαρχίαν κτλ.—i.e. θεραπεύοντες δὲ δικαίων πολιτεύοντο κατ'-ολιγαρχίαν 'κατά of manner, ἐπιτηδεῖων σφίσιν αὐτοῖς μόνον' ('in their, the Lacedaemonian, interests alone'). Cf. Arist. *Pol.* iv. 11 τῶν ἐν ἡγεμονίᾳ γενομενῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος . . . οἱ μέν δημοκρατίας καθίστασαν, οἱ δὲ ὀλιγαρχίας, οὐ πρὸς τὸ τῶν πόλεων συμφέρον σκοποῦντες ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ σφετερον αἰτῶν.

13. ναῦς τε τῶν πόλεων—having gradually taken over (assumed possession of) the ships of the various cities. Cf. c. 99, 3.

16. καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς—two widely different views are taken of this passage according as *αὐτοῖς* means (a) 'the Athenians' only or (b) 'the Athenians and Lacedaemonians.' Omitting minor differences, we get (a) 'and so her own resources for carrying on this war reached a greater strength than (what she had) when she stood at the height of her confederates', i.e. Athens had appropriated the forces of her confederates, as it were, and thus was stronger than when she was at the head of a body of independent allies. (b) The forces of Athens and Sparta separately were stronger than they had been (both together) during the period of the ὁμαλία (Classen) or 'stronger than the strongest power each separately had wielded with its still undamaged συμμαχία' (Herbst). (a) accords with what Thue. afterwards says of the growth of Athenian power (cf. c. 118). By τὰ κράτιστα he means the time before the reduction of Naxos (466 B.C.). Συμμαχία ἀφανίσης is in contrast with the appropriation of ships and imposition of tribute. (b) with Classen's rendering is too strong; with Herbst, we certainly hardly feel the statement, as far as it refers to Sparta, consistent with the reference to her policy made above.

20. τὰ παλαιά—this, as Herbst and Steup point out, refers only to the time before the *expulsion of the tyrants*—see note on c. 1 § 2 τὰ γὰρ πρὸ αἰτῶν κτλ. The events of the Persian wars were fully known, and in c. 18, 1 Thue. comes to them as to *modern* events. Therefore we must suppose cc. 18 and 19 to form a long parenthesis—see the analysis of the προοίμιον, Intr. III. note.

τοιαῦτα—i.e. comparatively insignificant, οὐ μεγάλα.

χαλεπὰ δύτα—‘though it is difficult to trust every piece of evidence as put forward *in the traditions about them.*’ This is the *personal* constrn. for **χαλεπὸν δν παντὶ ἔξῆς τ. π.** The clause is amplified in what follows, and does not refer to what has preceded. **πᾶν ἔξῆς**=‘every one without exception.’

22. **ἀκοάς**—‘accounts.’

24. **σφίσιν**—the indirect reflexive, which, as regularly used in subord. sentences, refers to subject of principal sentence. But later writers generally use **ἔαντούς** etc. as both indirect and direct reflex.

δροῖως—as events that did not occur in their own place.

25. **γοῦν**—cf. c. 2 § 5. Here ‘for example’ (? and there too).

Ἴππαρχον—there is a more detailed account of the matter in vi. 54-59. Herod. v. 55; vi. 123; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* c. 18. There are no discrepancies between this account and the statement of Herod. and Arist. (for the statement in the latter that Thessalus was half-brother of Hipparchus is not necessarily a contradiction of this); but there are several differences between the Aristotelian account and the longer account given in book vi.

PAGE 18.

1. **ὑποτοπήσαντές τι**—‘feeling some suspicion.’ (Some connect *τι* with *μεμηνῦσθαι*.) **ὑποτοπῆσαι** used by Thuc. only in *aor. inf.* or *partic.*

2. **ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ π.** with *μεμηνῦσθαι*, ‘on that great day at the very moment,’ before they were to take action.

3. **ἐκ . . μεμηνῦσθαι**—the other places in Thuc. in which *ἐκ* practically=—*πό* are ii. 49, 1; iii. 69, 1; v. 104; vi. 36, 2. The use is Ionic, not found in Aristoph., and there are only doubtful traces of it in the orators.

5. **πρὶν ξυλληφθῆναι . . κινδυνεῦσαι**—‘wishing to do something before they were arrested (and) then to take their chance.’ **πρὶν** *ξ.* goes with **δράσαντές τι**, and **καὶ**=‘on that condition.’

7. **περὶ τὸ Δεωκόρεον**—*ἐν μέσῳ τῷ Κεραμεικῷ* (Harpocration), but *inside* the city. Meanwhile Hippias (according to vi. 57) was marshalling the procession outside the gates. The *Ath. Pol.* however says that Hippias was awaiting the procession on the acropolis. The route of the procession was from the (outer) Ceramicus to the temple of Athena Polias. As for the

Leocorion, the story was that the three daughters of King Leos were sacrificed to Pallas to avert famine from Athens. The chapel is connected with the worship of Apollo as god of purification.

9. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα—‘as regards’; or (what comes to the same, *οἰονται* may be rendered ‘conceive.’

10. οὐ χρόνῳ ἀμνηστούμενα—‘le grec renforce souvent une idée positive en la reprenant sous forme négative’ (Chambry). Cf. p. 112 l. 16.

11. ὥσπερ κτλ.—Herod. vi. 57, if the kings are not present at a meeting of the Council, (*κελεύοσι*) τοὺς μάλιστά σφι τῶν γερόντων προσήκουτας ἔχειν τὰ τῶν βασιλέων γέρεα, διο ψῆφοις τιθεμένους, τρίτην δὲ τὴν ἑωτῶν. It may be that Thuc. is referring to that passage, and took it to imply that each king had two votes (though it is doubtful whether Herod. meant that). In ix. 53 Herod. mentions the λόχος Πλαταίης as present at Plataea. It can hardly be doubted that Thuc. consciously includes Herod. among *οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕληνες*. See Jebb, *The Speeches of Thuc.*, in *Hellenica*, p. 273.

12. μιᾶς ψῆφῳ—we expect the accus., as in Aesch. *Eum.* 738 ψῆφον δ' Ὁρέστη τὴνδ' ἐγὼ προσθήσομαι, but the sense is ‘give their opinion (sc. γνώμην) with one vote.’ (*Eum.* i.e. does not support the opinion of Classen and Steup that the use of the dat. is to be explained by the fact that the kings voted last.) The errors noted illustrate the difficulty of getting information about Spartan proceedings.

17. ἐκ . . τεκμηρίων with *νομίζων*. The object is (*ἐκεῖνα*) ἀ διῆλθον, the pred. *τοιαῦτα μάλιστα εἰραι*). The partic. *νομίζων*, *πιστεύων*, *ηγησάμενος* are co-ordinate; but they express *not* condition, but *means*: lit. ‘However, it is by considering the proofs I have given and in the light of them thinking that . . . that one will escape error, and not by preferring to follow the embellishments and exaggerations of poets or the attractive but untrustworthy compositions of prose writers . . . but by coming to the conclusion.’ Edl. generally represent the participles as conditional, but *μήτε . . . μήτε* would then be required. See *M. T.* § 835.

20. ἐπὶ τῷ—‘so as to please the ear of the public rather than to arrive at the truth.’ The double compar. as regularly where two qualities in the same person or thing are contrasted: ὡς οὐρανῷ πλέονες ή βελτίονες.

23. δύτα—agreeing with the implied object of *ξυνέθεσαν*. τὰ πολλά is in limiting apposition to this object, and *αὐτῶν* depends on τὰ πολλά.

24. ἀπίστως—‘so as to be incredible.’ This pregnant use of an adverb may often be noticed in the phrases with ἔχειν, διακεῖσθαι, διατιθέναι.

ἐπὶ τὸ μυθῶδες ἐκνευικηκότα—generally rendered ‘have won their way into the region of the fabulous’: but Croiset explains ‘in which the fabulous character has ended by prevailing.’

26. ὡς παλαιὰ εἶναι—for the restrictive infin. see *M. T.* § 781; ‘sufficiently considering their antiquity.’ The ‘plainest indications’ are the τεκμήρια of § 1.

27. καὶ ὁ πόλεμος—Thuc. having ascertained, as clearly as is possible, the small importance of earlier undertakings, now returns to the Pel. War, which, to all who judge it in the light of the facts, will be found to have proved more important than they (*τὰ παλαιά*).

28. ἐν ϕ—‘while.’

PAGE 19.

3. δηλώσει—with partic., as in ii. 50 ἐδήλωσε . . . ἄλλο τι δν. Cf. v. 9 δείξω οὐ παραινέσαι οἵσις τε δν. Cf. Jebb on Soph. *Ant.* 20.

5. καὶ δσα μέν—after his reference to the importance of the war, Thuc. goes on to explain the manner in which he has dealt with it. δσα=‘as regards all that.’

λόγω—Steup is probably right in explaining this, not as merely pleonastic, but as a reference to the *set speeches*, as distinct from ‘words’ generally: hence=‘in debate.’ Note, however, the implied contrast between τὰ ἔργα τῶν λεχθέντων and τὰ ἔργα τῶν πραχθέντων, deeds of speech and of act.

6. ἐν αὐτῷ—i.e. ἐν τῷ πολεμεῖν.

7. χαλεπόν— for the implied sense ‘impossible’ Steup compares c. 20, 1; vii. 87, 4.

9. δν—rel. to τῶν λεχθέντων.

ἄλλοθέν ποθεν—‘from the various places where they happened to be.’

10. ὡς δ’ δν ἔδόκουν κτλ.—‘I have represented the various speakers as uttering the sentiments that seemed to me appropriate to the particular occasion, while I have kept as closely as possible to the general sense of what was really said’: lit. ‘as I believed that they would have best expressed what it

was necessary to say.' *Δν* and *μάλιστα* belong to *εἰπεῖν* : *έχομένων* κτλ. to *εἰργται*, to which *έμοι* is supplied. The order is thus awkward, but it is made easier by the preceding *έμοι*. (The sense does not allow us to connect *έχομένων* with *έδοκουν*.)

11. *τὰ δέοντα*—i.e. the best arguments that could be found to support the *ξύμασα γνώμη* of the speaker. (Jebb, *Hellenica* p. 275, thinks that Thuc. is tacitly contrasting this method with that of Herod., and, as it can scarcely be doubted that he does so in the passage that follows, this is probably true.)

14. *τὰ δέ έργα τῶν πραχθέντων*—verbally this is opposed to *τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τῶν λεχθέντων* rather than to *δσα λόγων εἰπον*.

16. *ηξίωσα*—‘thought it my business.’

οὐδὲ ὡς *έμοι* *έδόκει*—‘in accordance with my own whims.’

17. *οἰς τε αὐτὸς παρῆν*—i.e. (*ηξίωσα γράφειν ἐκεῖνα*) *οἰς*: I described ‘facts which I myself witnessed and (I described facts) after inquiring about each detail from others,’ thus *ἐπεξελθών* is parallel to *οἰς αὐτὸς παρῆν*, which, as Mr. Forbes says, is equivalent to *αὐτὸς παραγενόμενος*. (Another way is to make *ἐπεξελθών* govern *οἰς αὐτὸς παρῆν*, but this has the great disadvantage of making *οἰς αὐτὸς παρῆν* and *παρὰ τῶν ἀλλῶν* parallel phrases. See crit. note.)

18. *δσον δυνατὸν ἀκριβεῖα*—for (*τοσοῦτον*) *δσον* (accus. *δυνατὸν* (*ην*) *Δ.*) Notice that *ἀκριβεῖα* here is *subjective* in sense, meaning the accuracy of Thuc., *not* the accuracy of the facts, as in § 1.

21. *έκατέρων*—‘towards either side,’ objective gen. to *εἰνοιας*, as in vii. 57. 10 'Αθηναῖων εἰνοίᾳ. (Croiset connects *έκατέρων τις*, *ex utrisque partibus quisque*.)

ώς . . . *εὐολας* ή *μνήμης έχοι*—for the gen., that of the *sphere* in which, depending on *ώς*, *πώς*, *ποῖ*, and occasionally other advs. of manner, cf. c. 36, 2. *έχοι* is iterative.

23. *τὸ μὴ μυθῶδες*—‘the fact that he hears no legend in my history.’ *μὴ* is here subjective, referring to what the reader will feel. (The edd., as frequently in Thuc., give various explanations of this *μὴ*.)

αὐτῶν—with *τὸ μὴ μ*; cf. c. 1, 2.

24. *ἀτερπέστερον*—‘less attractive.’

25. *τῶν γενομένων*—this means ‘the past’ so far as Thuc. records it, the period with which he deals; for Thuc. could

not suppose that his work would be useful as a record of *all* past history.

τὸ σαφές—‘the truth,’ ‘the exact nature.’

26. **τῶν μελλόντων κτλ.**—‘of what is likely to be repeated at some future time with more or less exactness.’

PAGE 20.

1. **κρίνειν**—subject *τούτους*. **αὐτά**—‘my history,’ as *αὐτῶν* above.

2. **τε**—concluding, ‘and so.’

ἀγώνισμα—the word means ‘performance,’ ‘feat,’ ‘show piece,’ or ‘prize’; here of a prize composition.

ἐς τὸ παραχρῆμα ἀκούειν—‘for immediate hearing.’

4. **τῶν δὲ πρότερον**—it is by this time shown that *τὰ παλαιά* (cc. 2-17) were unimportant as compared with the Pel. War. But there remains the war against Xerxes (*τὸ Μηδικόν*, see c. 18, 2, the *μέγας στόλος*); and to that Thuc. now passes.

5. **δυοῖν ναυμαχίαιν καὶ πεζομαχίαιν**—which battles were these? The Schol. says Artemisium and Salamis; Thermopylae and Plataea. But it is difficult to see how Mycale could be left out, and owing to the indecisive character of Artemisium, it is likely that Thuc. did not mean to include it, and reckoned Mycale as a *ναυμαχία*.

7. **τούτου δὲ τοῦ π.**—it is not possible to say with certainty whether Thuc. alludes to the Ten Years’ War, or the whole of the Pel. War.

μέγα—predicative.

8. **ξυνηνέχθη**—cf. c. 9, 2. This use also, with an infin., is frequent in Herod.

11. **ὑπὸ βαρβάρων**—if the Ten Years’ War is meant, the only case mentioned by Thuc. is Colophon (iii. 34); but if the Twenty-seven Years’ War be meant, Mycalessus (vii. 29) may be included, though *ἡρημώθησαν* is somewhat exaggerated.

ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν—as Plataea (iii. 68), Mytilene (iii. 50), Thyrea (iv. 57).

12. **οἰκήτορας μετέβαλον**—as Aegina (ii. 27), Potidaea (ii. 70), Anactorium (iv. 49), Scione (v. 32), Delos (v. 1), Melos (v. 116).

13. **φυγαὶ**—sc. ἐγένοντο. Instances of exile as the direct consequence of the war are the Plataeans (ii. 5), driven out by the Thebans; the Lesbians, who fled before the Athenians (iv. 52); exile as the result of *στάσις* occurred at Coreyra (iii. 69), Megara (iv. 74).

15. **τά τε πρότερον κτλ.**—‘moreover what was formerly repeated on hearsay, but seldom confirmed by fact, now became credible,’ because men saw it all.

17. **σεισμῶν τε πέρι . . . ἡλίου τε ἐκλείψεως**—the construction changes slightly. We might have had *σεισμοὶ* or *περὶ ἐκλειψεων*.

19. **οἱ αὐτοὶ**—‘moreover,’ emphasising *ἰσχυρότατοι*. Cf. the use of *idem*.

20. **πικνότεραι**—of course Thuc. does not record all the strange things that betell *μετὰ τοῦδε τοῦ τολέμου*: e.g. he records no instances of *αὐχμός* or *λιμός* (for *λιμοί* evidently does not refer to hunger caused by siege). He records two eclipses of the sun, one in 431 B.C. (ii. 28), the other in 424 B.C. (iv. 52), but if the Ten Years’ War be meant, *three* eclipses could have been observed in Greece: or if the Twenty-seven Years’ War is alluded to, *six*. Of course it is not certain that all of the eclipses were actually observed; Thuc., as Mr. Forbes says, only gives the popular opinion.

παρὰ τά—‘as compared with’; cf. iv. 6 *χειμῶν μείζων παρὰ τὴν καθεστηκυῖαν ὥραν*.

23. **καὶ ἡ . . . ἡ νόσος**—the art. is similarly repeated to throw emphasis on the second part of the phrase—‘the disease that . . . I mean the pestilence’—in c. 126, 4, and in several other instances. With *νόσος* most edd. supply *ἐγένετο*: but Steup rightly says *οὐκ ἀπιστος κατέστη*, for when Thuc. describes the plague in ii. 47, he expressly says that ‘it was said that it had broken out in several other places previously’ to 430 B.C.

μέρος τι—object of *φθείρασα*, sc. *τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, ‘a great number’ of the Greeks.

26. **ἥρξαντο δέ**—the narrative of the war begins at the opening of Bk. ii., the remainder of this book being occupied with the *αιτίαι καὶ διαφοραί*. The main emphasis is on *λύσαντες κτλ.*; the date of the recovery of Euboea is 445 B.C. (c. 115).

29. **τὰς αἰτίας . . . καὶ τὰς διαφοράς**—these are again denoted by *ἡ ἀληθεστάτη πρόφασις* and *αἱ . . . αἰτίαι* in § 6.

3. **τὴν μὲν γὰρ κτλ.**—apparently *τὴν . . λόγῳ* is attributive predicate to *τοὺς Ἀθηναίους . . ἀναγκάσαι*, as Classen explains, lit. 'As for the truest motive . . I think that the A. . . forced' etc. The assumption of a 'confusion of construction' (Krüger) seems unnecessary. Chambry explains *τὴν ἀ. πρόφασιν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἤγοῦμαι . . καὶ (ἴγοῦμαι) . . ἀναγκάσαι*, so that *ἤγοῦμαι* has two objects differently expressed, but *γιγνομένους* and *παρέχοντας* can scarcely be separated.

4. **πρόφασιν**—of the *actual* motive, as in vi. 6, and now and then in other authors. When so used it seems to denote the motive as it appears to the mind of the *writer* as distinct from the motive as put forward by the doer.

5. **μεγάλους γιγνομένους**—in c. 118 Thuc. says that the Athenians during the period between the foundation of the Delian Confederacy and the war (the *Pentecontaetia*) ἐπὶ μέγα ἔχωρησαν δυνάμεως. We might, therefore, look for *μείζους* *αι* in place of *μεγάλους*, but, as this is the first mention of Athenian power, the pos. is quite natural. This growing greatness of A. is described in cc. 88-118; *ai . . λ. αἰτίαι* occupy cc. 24-87.

11. **'Ε. ἔστι πόλις**—'there is a city named E.'

ἔσπλεοντι—dat. of the 'person judging,' frequent in Thuc. The direct accus. instead of *ἐs* after *ἔσπλευ* is poetical, and occurs nowhere else in prose.

12. **'Ιόνιον**—the Adriatic.

16. **Κορίνθιος**—when a city that was a colony founded a colony in turn, it was usual to choose a founder from the original mother-city.

τῶν ἀφ' Ἡ. depends on *Φαλίος*, 'of the family of the Heraclidae.'

21. **δύναμις**—see crit. note. The gloss *πόλις* is, of course, due to *πολυάνθρωπος*. An obvious change would be *δύναμις μ. καὶ <πόλις> πολυάνθρωπος*, but *δύναμις πολυάνθρωπος* is surely a possible phrase, as *δύναμις* denotes *military* power: cf. 33, 2 *αὕτη (ἡ δύναμις) πάρεστιν αὐτεπάγγελτος*.

23. **ἀπὸ πολέμου . . ἐφθάρησαν**—'in consequence of a war with . . they became crippled.'

24. **τῆς δυνάμεως** depends on *τῆς πολλῆς*, i.e. the idiom *ἡ πολλὴ τῆς δ.* is used.

25. τὰ δὲ τελευταῖα . . πολέμου—‘in the period immediately preceding this war.’

PAGE 22.

1. ἐπελθόντες—this conjecture seems required, since with ἀπελθόντες (‘the departed exiles’) we miss a circumstantial partic. to ἀλλόντο.

7. περιορᾶν φθειρομένους—in c. 35, 4 περιορᾶ with infin. With *infin.* περιορᾶ occurs only in Herod. and Thuc., and = ēō: with partic. (pres. or aor. with different shade of meaning) = ‘look on’ with indifference.

15. ἐν ἀπόρῳ εἰχοντο—ἔχεσθαι ἐν πολλῷ ἀπορίᾳ occurs in Antiphon v. 16, Lys. xiii. 11; εἰναι ἐν ἀπόρῳ Thuc. iii. 22. The ordinary phrase is ἐν (πολλῷ) ἀπορίᾳ εἰναι.

16. θέσθαι τὸ παρόν—‘how to arrange the matter.’

18. εἰ παραδοῖνεν—oblique for the *delib. subjunct.*

19. τιμωρίαν τινὰ ποιεῖσθαι—cf. c. 5, 1, ‘obtain help’; but the words would naturally mean ‘to bring help’ (the idiom with ποιεῖσθαι). In vi. 60, however, ἀδειαν ποιεῖσθαι means ‘to obtain immunity.’

20. αὐτοῖς—‘the Corinthians,’ depending on παραδοῦναι.

24. σφῶν—here, and frequently in Herod. and Thuc., as direct reflexive, referring to the subject of the *same* clause.

27. κατά τε τὸ δίκαιον—this does not mean ‘as was right,’ but that τὸ δίκαιον was the motive put forward by the Corinthians; i.e. τὸ δίκαιον has its rhetorical use, and the plea may be illustrated by the saying συγγενώμη ἀδελφῷ βοηθεῖν.

PAGE 23.

2. ἄμα δὲ καὶ—for the δέ following τε cf. c. 11, 1.

4. οὔτε γάρ—the verb is ἔπειπον (c. 26. 1), but, owing to the length of the sentence, the construction is changed (*anacoluthon*), and instead of οἱ Κερκυραῖοι being the subject of the verb, a new subject, οἱ Κορίνθιοι, is introduced. The outline of the sentence is as follows: 1. (a) οὔτε . . νομίζομεν, (b) οὔτε . . ἀποκίαι: 2. περιφροοῦντες δέ, (a) καὶ (‘both’) . . πλουσιωτάτοις, (b) καὶ . . δινατάτεροι, (c) ναυτικῷ δέ . . ἐπαιρόμενοι, etc.

4. ἐν πανηγύρεσι ταῖς κοιναῖς—festivals common to Corinth and Corcyra.

5. γέρα—the schol. rather vaguely says *τὰς τιμὰς καὶ προεδρίας*. The corresponding passage in Diodorus says that the Corcyraeans neglected to send animals for sacrifice.

6. Κορινθίω ἀνδρὶ . . ιερῶν—Herod. vi. 81 (Cleomenes of Sparta at Argos) Xen. *Hell.* iii. 4 (Agesilaus of Sparta at Aulis) allude to the fact that a *ξένος* could not offer sacrifice in a strange city without permission. Dittenberger shows that *προκατάρχεσθαι* is equivalent to *προθύειν* (cf. *Syl. Ins. Gr.* 323 and 358): certain ceremonies took place before a victim was killed for sacrifice (Gardner and Jevons, p. 250), and these ceremonies had to be performed by a citizen of the place. The Corcyraeans would not perform them for Corinthians, and thus prevented the latter from sacrificing in Corcyra. Thuc. uses *προκατάρχεσθαι* here for the usual *κατάρχεσθαι*.

8. καὶ χρημάτων κτλ.—‘partly because the power that money gave them put them on a level with the richest of the Greeks.’ By ‘the richest of the Greeks’ the Corinthians themselves are meant. There is some exaggeration, no doubt, for the Athenians were actually among the richest; but the wealth of Corinth had become a tradition (see c. 13). *όμοια δύτες* is not possible (see crit. note), and *δυνατοί* cannot be supplied with Herbst from *δυνατώτεροι*. *〈ἐν〉 δυνάμει . . ομοία* or *δυνάμει . . ομοῖοι* would give the required sense with a proper construction, but no correction is certain.

12. προύχειν—*ἐπαιρομαι* is found only here with infin.= ‘boast.’

Ἐστιν δτε—with *καὶ κατὰ κτλ.*, ‘sometimes even on the ground that the Phaeacians, who were famous for seamanship, had dwelt in Corcyra before them.’ The Greeks identified Corcyra with the Scheria of the *Odyssey*. For the naval reputation of the Phaeacians see *Od.* vii. 34–39, where they are called *ναυσικλυτοί*.

14. ὦ καὶ—‘this circumstance (that they were proud of the reputation of the Phaeacians) led them to.’ *καὶ*=‘and in fact.’

15. οὐκ ἀδύνατοι, *meiosis* for *δυνατάτοι*.

18. ἔπειπτον—‘sent,’ the imperf. being frequently used with *πέμπω* and other verbs—*κελεύω*, *δέομαι* etc.—where we look for aor. Perhaps it is because it takes time to deliver the message.

20. καὶ Ἀμπρακιωτῶν—with *φρουρούς*.

22. Ἀπολλωνίαν—now the ruins of *Pollina*, S. of Durazzo.

PAGE 24.

2. **καὶ στέρεον**—in contrast with **εὐθύς**. The **έτερος στόλος** seems to anticipate **ἄλλὰ στρατεύοντιν κτλ.** in § 4; but the eid. explain with Poppe, that this new force consisted of fifteen ships (hence forty below, cf. c. 29, 4). But **στρατεύοντιν** **ἐπ' αὐτούς** should not allude to a hostile move made by the twenty-five ships already *on the spot* (the rendering 'assume the offensive' being inadmissible): they should refer only to the new force sent from home.

3. **κατ' ἐπήρειαν**—'in a threatening manner,' with **ἐκέλευσον**.

6. **ἀποδεικνύντες**—cf. c. 25, 2, 'calling their attention to graves (of their common ancestors buried at Coreyra) and ties of blood, to which they appealed.' **ἥν** applies equally to both nouns, but is attracted to the nearer.

9. **αὐτῶν**—neut., with **οὐδέν**, 'the demands.'

10. **ἄλλὰ στρατεύοντιν**—*parataxis*, the sense being, 'but, instead of the E. listening to their demands, the C.'

14. **προεῖπον** combines public 'summons' with 'notice'; Herod. ii. 115; vii. 149. Infns. of different kinds are combined also with **λέγω** and **γιγνώσκω**.

18. **αὐτοῖς**—see on c. 13, 3.

22. **ἐπὶ τῇ . . . λέγαι**—exegesis of **ἀποεικίαν**, and governed by **ἐκήρυσσον**. For the dat. fem. in adverbial phrase cf. c. 15, 2. The new colonies were to have equal rights with the old.

24. **ἔθελα . . . βούλεται**—if **ἔθελοι** is right, the two moods are combined in *O.O.*; **ἔθελοι** represents **ἔθέλει** of *τινα*, and there is no change of meaning. It should be noticed that the *Laurentian* gives **ἔθέλει**: for the change of indic. after *ei* to optat. is rare, but occurs occasionally, as in Lys. vii. 34 **προσῆλθον λέγων δτι . . . ἔτοιμος εἰμι, εἰ τίνα βούλοιτο** (= **βούλει**, **παραδοῦναι**). In Thuc. viii. 89, 3 **εἰ μὴ ἤκουεν** represents **εἰ μὴ ἤκουσι**.

26. **Κορινθίας**—the Cor. drachma was about two-thirds of the value of the Attic.

μένειν—oblique for **μενέτω**.

PAGE 25.

4. **Κεφαλλήνων**—partitive; there were four **πόλεις** in Cephalenia, of which Pale was one.

9. **κενάς**—sc. **ἀνδρῶν**.

15. παρέλαβον — 'had taken with them,' to support the request. There is no difficulty in supposing that Sparta and Sicyon were ready to lend their voice to a request that Corinth should withdraw the new settlers. These *οἰκήτροπες* must have appropriated the property of the exiled Corcyraean oligarchs; and the proceeding of Corinth was in this respect high-handed. The sending of the *πρέσβεις* did not commit Sparta to anything.

18. ἀντιποιοῦνται—sc. Ἐπιδάμνου.

δίκας δοῦναι—'submit the case to arbitration.' δ. διδόναι καὶ δέχεσθαι is a technical phrase for legal arbitration between states as opposed to war: cf. vii. 18 ὅπλα μὴ ἐπιφέρειν ήν δίκας ἐθέλωσι διδόναι.

19. αἰς ἀν κτλ. = παρ' αἰς ἀν δίκας δοῦναι ἀ. ξ.

21. κρατεῖν—sc. ἡθελον.

ἡθελον δέ—an alternative suggestion to submit the decision to Apollo.

22. πόλεμον δὲ κτλ.—'but they charged them not to cause a war.' Notice the difference between *πόλεμον ποιῶ* and π. *ποιοῦμαι*.

23. εἰ δὲ μή—*M. T.* § 478. καὶ αὐτοί—'they in turn.' The elaborate wording of the allusion to Athens is intended to mark the earnestness and reluctance of the Corcyraeans.

24. ἐκείνων βιαζομένων—'if the Corinthians forced them.'

25. ἔτέρους τῶν νῦν—gen. of comparison; *Xen. Mem.* iv. iv. 25 ἀλλα τῶν δικαίων. So Lat. *alius* occasionally has abl. τῶν νῦν δικαίων means the Peloponnesians whose confederacy Corcyra threatens to leave. μᾶλλον goes with φιλοὺς ποιεῖσθαι, 'sooner' than agree to the demand of Corinth.

26. ὠφελίας ἐνεκα—'in self-defence.'

PAGE 26.

1. πρότερον δ' κτλ. — equivalent to οὐ καλῶς ἔχειν πρότερον αὐτούς (the Corinthians and Corcyraeans) δικάζεσθαι, πολιορκουμένων τῶν Ἐπιδαμνίων, but the logic of the sentence is sacrificed to a verbal antithesis.

4. ταῦτα—i.e. withdraw the ships and the Illyrians.

ἔτοιμοι δὲ εἶναι—Krieger supplies δικαζεσθαι, and ὥστε then = 'on the understanding that'; but this is not very satisfactory after ποιήσειν ταῦτα has intervened. Böhme and others

make *μένειν* depend on *έτοιμοι είναι*, with *ώστε* pleonastic; and for this *ικανὸς ώστε* is cited from Plat. *Protog.* 338 c. In either case the sense is the same; they were prepared to agree that besiegers and besieged should stay as they were and make a truce until the arbitration was concluded. *ποιήσασθαι* is co-ordinate with *μένειν*. (Mr. Forbes supplies *ποιεῖν ταῦτα* to *έτοιμοι είναι*: but *ποιεῖν ταῦτα* cannot = *δικάζεσθαι*, for in that case the second proposal of the Corcyraeans, *ἢν καὶ ἐκεῖνοι κτλ.*, is a less conciliatory suggestion than their original proposal, § 2.)

9. *προπέμψαντες . . πρότερον*—pleonasm, as in c. 23, 5.

11. *έβδομήκοντα καὶ πέντε*—the numbers given in c. 27, 2 amount to 68, but to these are to be added the *νῆσες κεναὶ* from Elis.

δισχιλίοις—the number is puzzling, as in c. 27, 2 the Cor. are said to be preparing to send 3000.

12. *ἐπί*—‘for,’ not ‘against.’ *ἐναντία*, internal accus. as adv.; cf. c. 6, 6.

19. *τὸ ιερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος*—‘the celebrated temple’ of *Ἀπόλλων* *Ἀκτιος*, best known to us from its connexion with the battle of Actium.

21. *προύπεμψαν*—before taking hostile action.

23. *ζεύσαντες*—probably this means that they inserted new cross-beams, called *ζυγώματα* or *ζυγά*, connecting one side of the ship with the other. (The *ζυγώματα*, however, may be ribs, *σταμῆνες*.) This has nothing to do with undergirding, which, as Mr. Forbes says, would be *ζώσαντες*.

24. *ἐπισκευάσαντες*—‘overhauled’ to see if repairs were needed.

27. *τεσσαράκοντα*—see c. 25, 4.

PAGE 27.

2. *παρὰ πολύ*—always with a word implying comparison; cf. *παρὰ πολὺ ἡσηθέντες* ii. 89, 3.

6. *παραστήσασθαι*—sc. *τὴν Ἐπίδαμνον*.

ώστε = *έφ’ ώτε*. *ἐπήλυδας*—the *οἰκήτροις* of c. 26, 1.

10. *Λευκίμμη*—*Leukimo*, SE. of Corcyra, near which the battle was doubtless fought.

11. **ἄλλους**—those taken in the sea-fight.

18. **τῆς γῆς**—partitive.

20. **τοῦ τε χρόνου τὸν πλεῖστον**—with *μέχρι οὗ*, ‘most of the time’ they were controlling the sea and plundering the allies, ‘until.’ (Classen and Herbst understand by *ό χρόνος* the remainder of the *campaigning season*, but, without any qualification of *χρόνος*, this is surely impossible.) Of course the time intended must depend on the meaning of *περιόντι τῷ θέρει*, for which see next note. Thuc. means that the Corecyraeans did not keep their fleet at sea all the time between the departure of the Corinthian fleet and its reappearance.

24. **περιόντι τῷ θέρει**—*περιόντι*, being the reading of all MSS., may be accepted. If *περιέναι* is intended, the explanation offered (Ullrich and others) is in ‘the remaining part of the summer.’ Herbst supports this rendering with *ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ θέρει τελευτῶντι* etc. (see the passages quoted by Mr. Forbes). But *τῷ θέρει τελευτῶντι* means ‘in the summer when it was ending’; and *περιόντι τῷ θέρει*=‘in the summer when it was (all) remaining over,’ the predicative partic., as Krüger says, modifying the whole sphere covered by the sense of the noun (cf. Bloomfield’s note): this cannot yield the sense ‘in the remaining part of the summer.’ *περιόντι* must therefore be referred to *περιέναι*, Aeolic elision. Examples of this elision of the *ι* of *περί* are Aesch. *Ag.* 1145 *περέβαλον*, *Eum.* 634 *περεσκήνωσεν*, and *περιών* is frequently given in MSS. for *περιών*. In Xen. *Hell.* III. ii. 25 the best ms. has *περιόντι τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ*. This means ‘during the summer when it was coming round’ to autumn, drawing to a close. Steup and others, following the Schol. *ἐνισταμένῳ*, understand ‘when the summer came round’ to mean, when the *next* summer came; but this does not square so well with the concluding words of the chapter, which seem to refer to the winter of the year in which the battle was fought. If ‘drawing to a close’ is the meaning, then the dates would be:

Battle of Leucimme (c. 29, 4), . . . Spring 435.

Return of Corinthian fleet (c. 30, 3), Autumn 435.

Corinthian preparations (c. 31, 1). Summer 435-33.

If, however, the sense is ‘when the next summer came,’ the first two dates should be altered to summer 435, and spring 434. (Remember that ‘summer’ in Thuc. includes spring and autumn.) In either case the calculations are based on the date of the battle of Sybota, for which see c. 51.

25. **σφῶν**—see c. 25, 2.

PAGE 28.

5. τὸ θέρος τοῦτο—i.e. for what was left of the campaigning season of 435. (If περιόντι applies to the next summer, then the whole summer of 434 would be meant.)

9. ὁργὴ φέροντες—‘excited by’ the war, ὁργὴ being ‘passion, excitement, impulse,’ as well as anger. It is the ‘war fever’ that Thuc. means.

11. τὰ κράτιστα—cf. c. 19, end.

12. ἐκ τε αὐτῆς κτλ.—έρέτας is object of ἀγείροντες, to which μοσθῷ πειθοντες is subordinate. Steup, however, supplies ναῦς to ἀγείροντες, and makes μ. πειθοντες co-ordinate with ἀγείροντες. He joins τῆς ἀλλῆς Ε. έρέτας together (‘rowers belonging to other parts of Greece’). With the ordinary construction, supply ἐκ before τῆς.

16. ἐνσπουδοι = ξύμμαχοι. ἐσεγράψαντο—causal mid.

19. γενέσθαι—dependent on πειράσθαι. Under the terms of the treaty the δύραφοι πόλεις might seek the alliance of either Athens or Sparta; but of course the request might be refused.

20. ὀφελίαν = βοήθεια.

22. πρεσβευσόμενοι—‘to negotiate with them.’ The mid. seems to express reciprocity, and the word is rather loosely used.

24. προσγενόμενον—trans. ‘the addition of their fleet to . . .’, the chief emphasis being on the partic.

25. θέσθαι—as in c. 25, 1.

26. ἐς ἀντιλογίαν ἥλθον—cf. εἰς λόγους ἥλθεῖν τινι.

28. εὐεργεσίας . . . προυφελομένης—‘without having a claim through some great service rendered or through a previously existing alliance.’ The meaning is simply ‘we cannot urge that we are seeking to renew an old ξυμμαχία or that we have a claim on you for services rendered.’ ‘We are not εὐεργέται of Athens’: for this see on c. 137, 4 καὶ μοι εὐεργεσία ὀφείλεται and c. 128, 4.

PAGE 29.

2. τοὺς τέλας—‘others.’

4. πρῶτον—answered by ἐπειτα δέ.

5. ξύμφορα—internal accus. = ξύμφορον δέποιτι.

7. **βέβαιον**—(cf. c. 2) pred., ‘unfailing.’

εἰ . . . **καταστήσουσι**—‘if they do not propose to . . .’

9. **μετά**—‘while’ or ‘besides,’ a characteristic substitute for **μετά τοῦ τὴν ξυμμαχίαν αλτεῖν**.

12. **τετύχηκε δὲ κτλ.**—lit. ‘it has turned out that the same conduct not only involves us in inconsistency in our dealing with you, as regards the request we make, but is also disadvantageous (to us) in respect of our own position at the present time’; i.e. because we have hitherto abstained from entering your alliance it is inconsistent to be seeking it now, and for the same reason we are now in danger. To **ἀλογον** and **ἀξύμφορον** supply **δν**, which is often omitted with **τυγχάνω**, **φαίνομαι**, **διατελῶ**, and occasionally with other verbs; cf. c. 34 end.

16. **έκούσιοι**—‘having deliberately avoided all alliances’ (not ‘having entered into no alliance, if we could help it’). The strained position of **έκούσιοι**, and other words, throws special emphasis on the different parts of the clause. This statement is referred to by the Corinthian at c. 37, 2 **ξιμμαχίαν οὐδενὸς πω δέξασθαι**.

18. **Κορινθίων**—with **πόλεμον**; cf. **θεῶν πόλεμος**, **θεῶν δρκος**, ‘oath by the gods.’

δι' αὐτό—‘on that account,’ a favourite use of **αὐτό** and **αὐτά** with Thuc.

19. **περιέστηκεν . . . φαίνομένη**—‘what formerly seemed discretion in us . . . has now on the contrary proved clearly to be want of foresight and weakness.’ The partic. with **περιεστάναι** as in the construction **τυγχάνει οὐσα**. But cf. c. 120, 5.

20. **τῇ . . . γνώμῃ**—with **ξνγ.**, ‘to share the risks of another’s policy.’

22. **τὴν . . . ναυμαχίαν**—internal accus.

23. **κατὰ μόνας**—perhaps **δυνάμεις** is the subst. omitted in this phrase=‘unaided.’

28. **μέγας**—sc. **ἴσται ημῖν**.

1. **μὴ μετὰ κακίας κτλ.**—‘not maliciously, but because we were mistaken in our policy, we boldly act in a manner inconsistent with our former inactivity.’ There is nothing mean in seeking an alliance now for the first time when we are in danger: we were mistaken in not seeking it before.

4. η ἔντυχία . . τῆς η. χρέας—lit. ‘the coincidence of our request,’ i.e. ‘our request, coming at such a moment.’

10. ὡς ἀν μάλιστα . . μαρτυρίου—sc. καταθεῖσθε, lit. ‘as you would most with a record never forgotten,’ i.e. ‘in the manner most certain to be remembered for ever by us.’

11. καταθήσεσθε—necessary correction of καταθῆσθε, ‘will confer the favour on us.’ The met. is from investment of money. Cf. c. 128, 4.

12. ναυτικόν τε still depends on δτι.

15. καὶ (πρὸ πολλῆς) χάριτος—i.e. your gratitude would have been great even if you could only have gained this accession of power for a large sum. Isoer. 13, 11; Dem. pro. 33.

16. δύναμιν—‘a power’ (powerful state), to be translated as subject of πάρεστι.

18. φέρουσα ἐσ—‘producing in the minds of others an impression of generosity, a feeling of gratitude in those whom . . .’ Notice the use of ἀρετή here.

23. ἀσφάλειαν—referring to ἰσχύν: κόσμον referring to ἀρετή καὶ χάριν.

PAGE 31.

1. ὑμετέρῳ—‘of you.’

2. δυναμένους—Stahl takes this and δυτα in apposition to Κορινθίους, and removes the second καὶ so that only προκαταλαμβάνοντας depends on αἰσθάνεται. It is better with Steup to render the first καὶ ‘both,’ and to make δυτα also depend on αἰσθάνεται: ‘and are preparing by trying to subdue us for an attack on you.’

5. κατ' αὐτοὺς . . στῶμεν—‘confront them.’

δυοῖν φθάσαι ἀμάρτωσιν—(1) ‘may not lose two things’ means ‘may secure one or the other’: hence η . . η following. (2) But the construction of φθάσαι and δυοῖν is doubtful. Taking δυοῖν dependent on ἀμάρτωσιν, as in Andoc. i. 20 ὁρῶν τοῖν μεγίστουν κακοὺν οὐκ ἦν αἰτῷ ἀμαρτεῖν, most edd. make φθάσαι epexegetic, ‘to gain them before (we make alliance).’ The order is against this, and φθάσαι should then = ‘to gain one of them.’ It has been proposed to remove φθάσαι; but it is best, with Croiset, to take δυοῖν as dat. = ‘fail to be beforehand with two things.’ Either they will inflict a disastrous defeat on Coreyra, or frighten her into joining themselves.

8. διδόντων—‘offering,’ as frequently.

9. προεπιβουλεύειν . . ἀντεπιβουλεύειν—the jingle called paronomasia, to which Thuc. is partial; e.g. vi. 76 οὐκ ἀξινετωτέρου κακοξινετωτέρου δέ.

16. ἐκπέμπονται—sc. οἱ ἀποικοι, from πᾶσα ἀποικία.

17. προκληθέντες—see c. 28, 2.

19. τῷ Ισφῷ—τῷ νόμῳ καὶ τῷ δικαίῳ, παρ' οἷς ἡ ἴσθτης (Schol.).

τὰ ἐγκλήματα μετελθεῖν—like δίκην μέτειμι, ‘enforce their claims.’

21. ὥστε—for the construction cf. c. 49, 7; 129, 3.

22. ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος—‘in a straightforward way,’ with δεομένοις.

25. λαμβάνων—the same use with subst. referring to the feelings, c. 77, 6; cf. ii. 64 τὸ ἐπιφθονον λαμβάνειν.

27. μηδετέρων—on account of the subjective sense given by δεχόμενοι—it is from the Lac. point of view.

28. εἴρηται—‘there is a clause’ in the thirty years’ truce.

PAGE 32.

1. ἀρέσκηται—sc. ἐλθεῖν, mid., not as in c. 129 τοῖς λόγοις ἀρέσκομαι. The use of the mid. is Ionic.

5. προκειμένης—‘open to all.’

7. εἴτα—‘and actually’ as a climax of arrogance an object if you help us.

9. ἐν αἰτίᾳ ἔχειν—a frequent idiom in Thuc. (Kr., followed by Steup, reads ὠφελίας. εἰ τε ἐν . . δεόμεθα, πολὺ δὴ κτλ.)

11. οὐχ διπως—‘so far from.’

14. περιόψεσθε—in sense=έάστετε, hence the infin. With the partic. περιορᾶν=to overlook what actually occurs; p. 22 1. 7.

ἢν—sc. δύναμιν προσλαβεῖν αὐτοὺς περιδεῖν.

ἀλλ’—sc. δικαιόν ἔστι.

15. κάκείνων . . καὶ ἡμῖν—i.e. stop them too from getting help, if you will not help us, or help us too if you let them ‘help themselves’ from your empire. κωλύω with a pers. object and without infin., ‘stop the mercenaries they draw,’ is not common; Eur. *frag.* 1041 Nauck οἰκοφθόρον γὰρ ἀνδρα κωλύει γυνὴ ἔσθλή.

16. πέμπειν ὠφελίαν—means ‘send aid’ without concluding

a formal alliance: βοηθεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ π. δεξαμένους = 'openly receive us into alliance and so help us.'

19. ὑπέπομεν — 'suggested.' The ref. is to c. 33, 1 γενήσεται καλὴ ἡ ξυντυχία κατὰ πολλά.

20. μέγιστον — sc. τὸ ξυμφέρον ἀποδείκνυμεν. *We* have the same powerful enemies as *you* have; and that is a great advantage to you, because it will bind us to you.

21. ἦσαν — 'are, as we saw'; the didactic imperf.: but the word is prob. spurious, because (1) this use of the imperf. is not made out for the speeches of Thuc.: (2) we cannot supply *ἦσαν* to what follows — οὗτοι . . . βλάψαι — but require *εἰσίν*, since nothing has been said to suggest that.

23. τοὺς μεταστάντας — 'those who shall have abandoned your alliance.' This seems more probable than the rendering 'those who have abandoned *them* (Corinth),' as the mother-city. Athens may feel that Coreyra would be afraid to abandon the alliance with her.

24. οὐχ ὁμοία ἡ ἀλλοτρίωσις — Classen and others understand 'the rejection of it is not the same thing (as if it were a continental alliance)', i.e. is more dangerous to you. Stahl, Steup and others: 'to estrange us is not a matter of indifference to you,' which accounts better for the ἀλλά following: 'but you should make friends with a naval power if you cannot prevent its existence.'

26. ἔτι . . . ἔχειν — infin. in *imperative* sense. (Some think *δεῖ* is lost before *εἰ δὲ μή*.)

PAGE 33.

2. φοβεῖται δέ — supply *δοτις* as subject, but it is usual to omit the second rel. in Greek in such a case.

3. τὰς σπουδὰς λύσῃ — i.e. if he has not been convinced by what we have said on this point: see c. 35, 1. *Legally*, the speaker has already explained, there will be no breach of the truce; but the alliance might be *considered* by Corinth as a breach of its spirit.

4. τὸ δεδιός — a favourite construction of Thuc.: ii. 59, 3 τὸ δργισθένον τῆς γνώμης: below c. 84, 6: τὸ μέλλον 90, 2; 142, 8. The neut. partic. with art. as noun is rarely used by other prose authors: Xen. Cyr. iv. v. 39 τὸ ἐλλεῖπον.

ἰσχὺν ἔχον — as the result of alliance with us.

5. μή δεξαμένου — 'if he rejects our request.'

7. ἀδεέστερον — 'less formidable': here in passive sense. Cf. the double meaning of *φοβερός*, *formidolosus*.

οὐ . . τὸ πλέον = ἡσσον.

10. ἐς τὸν . . ἐνδοιάζῃ κτλ. — 'hesitates to secure for her in view of the war . . a place which becomes friend or enemy with most important consequences to you' (in either case).

13. τῆς . . Σικελίας depends on *παράπλον*, 'the coasting voyage to I. and S.,' Corcyra being the half-way house when the ordinary route to Sicily and Lower (Greek) Italy was taken —viz. round the coast of Peloponnese and to Corcyra and thence across. The gen. *παράπλον* depends on *καλῶς* in the phrase *καλῶς κεῖται* constructed on the analogy of *καλῶς ἔχει*, ὃς ἔχει (e.g. c. 22, 3) etc.

16. ἐπελθεῖν — generally go to attack, here to help. Sparta hoped for such help from the west.

τό τε ἐνθένδε — a fleet going from Athens to Italy or Sicily. This passage was prob. written by Thuc. later in the war, when Athens had sent out such fleets *via* Corcyra.

18. βραχυτάτῳ κτλ. — 'this is the briefest summary, including the whole situation and the details, by which . . .' *τοῖς τε ξύμπασι καὶ καθ' ἔκαστον* is taken by Classen as adverbial = 'on the whole as well as in detail,' but there is no parallel for the phrase in dative. It is awkward, but better, to make it apposition to *κεφαλαῖψ* (Krüger). It is true that only one general matter is presently referred to (viz. the naval strength of Corcyra), so that *τὰ καθ' ἔκαστον* seem wanting (Stahl); but the speaker means 'if you think out this summary, you will find it includes all detailed arguments too.' If we look at the *ξυμφέροντα* to Athens that are brought forward in this speech, we shall notice (1) that the speaker in each case leads up to the fleet of Corcyra as the crowning argument, (2) that he is well aware that this is the argument that will really impress Athens. It is therefore right to insist on it at the end. *κεφάλαιον* means 'summary' of the points previously raised. Edd. seem to overlook the fact that this passage is *rhetorical*, and not necessarily strictly accurate. (The remedy proposed is to make *τοῖς . . ἔκαστον* *masc.*, either as dat. commodi depending on β. *κεφαλαῖψ* (Poppe, Steup) or placed after or before *ξυμφορώτατόν ἔστι*.)

20. τρία μέν — sc. ἔστι: *ὅντα* belongs to *λόγου δέξια*. (There is no anacoluthon here.)

26. πλεοστι κτλ. — 'with our ships in addition (to yours). For this use of *πλεῖστων* cf. e.g. Aesch. *Ag.* 755 τὸ δυσσεβὲς γὰρ

Ἔργον . . πλείονα τίκτει. (To take *ταῖς ἡμετέραις* as dat. of measure dependent on *πλείονι* gives an ugly construction.)

PAGE 34.

3. *ώς καὶ* for *καὶ ώς*, unless *καὶ* is due to dittography (*ώς* and *καὶ* are sometimes confused in MSS.). The parallels quoted, like ii. 44 δ τι ἀξιον καὶ εἰπεῖν, are not close. (Steup thinks that after *καὶ* a clause is lost in which one of the two topics summed up in *ἀμφοτέρων* was expressed.)

5. *ἀμφοτέρων*—strictly *τὸ ημᾶς ἀδικεῖν* and *τὸ αὐτὸς πολεμοῦσθαι* are but one topic differently expressed, and the two aspects of the matter are not clearly distinguished in what follows.

6. *οὗτω*—like *tum demum*.

7. *ἀξιωσιν*—‘claim.’

8. *μὴ ἀλογίστως*—together as one word.

10. *τὸ δέ*—‘but that,’ *τὸ* being *demonstrative* in sense.

11. *ἀρετῇ*—either depending on *ἐπὶ*, or perhaps rather causal dat. *ἀρετῇ* means *τὸ σῶφρον*: cf. c. 32, 4.

ξύμμαχόν τε—we have here the only example of *τε* followed by *οὐτε* (before *παρακαλοῦντες*. *οὐτε* . . *τε* is common): ‘wishing to have no ally in their nefarious schemes (persecuting their neighbours) or witness (*οὐδέ* does not mean ‘not even’ here as Mr. Forbes supposes), and to avoid exposing themselves to shame by asking others to aid them (in such schemes).’ The simplest change proposed is to alter *οὐδέ* to *οὐτε* (Weil), so that *τε* would co-ordinate *βούλόμενοι* to *ἐπὶ κακουργίᾳ καὶ οὐκ ἀρετῇ* and *οὐτε μ. ξειν*=‘neither to have any ally as a witness in their schemes nor to . .’

15. *αὐτάρκη θέσιν*—internal accus.: the meaning is presently explained in διὰ *τὸ κτλ.*

16. *παρέχει αὐτοὺς κτλ.*—‘makes them judges of the wrongs they inflict more than (they would be) if they were hampered by treaties.’ With *μᾶλλον η κατά*, ‘more than accords with,’ cf. c. 76, 3: ii. 50 *χαλεπωτέρως η κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν φίσιν*. (*γίγνεσθαι* does not belong to the phrase, but to *δικαστάς* only.)

δικαστάς—the meaning is that a citizen of another state who went to law with a Coreyrean must proceed as a *ξένος* in the Coreyrean courts: Coreyra does not experience a similar difficulty, whether real or assumed, because her citizens do not need to have dealings with other states to anything like the

same extent. Coreyra was, of course, the port of call for all vessels passing to and from the west by the 'coasting' route; but the grievance based on this fact is surely exaggerated here.

18. **ἐκπλέοντας** agrees with 'the Corcyreans': others when at sea ἀνάγκη καταρποντι to Corcyra.

20. **καὶ τοῦτο κτλ.**—the speaker now alludes to disputes between Coreyra and another state (meaning Corinth). *ἐν τούτῳ*, 'this being their conduct' (see crit. note), is not right, because the argument shifts here to a new point.

τὸ εὐπρεπὲς ἀσπονδον—cf. e.g. vi. 34 **τὸ ξυνηθὲς ἥσυχον**.

21. **προβέβληνται**—as a shield or cloak to cover their ἀδικία.

22. **καὶ δπως**—this explains **κατὰ μόνας ἀδικῶσι**, and means whether they make unrighteous gains by force or by deceit—these two ways are summed up in **ἥν . . προσλάβωσιν**—they feel no shame, because there is no witness.

25. **καὶ τοι**—the sentence that follows refers to *both* the grievances just alleged.

26. **ἀληπτότεροι ἥσαν**—the *imperf.* by assimilation to the other verbs. *ἔξῆν* is, of course, potential according to Goodwin, *M. T.* § 415. **ἀληπτότεροι** because of their **αὐτάρκης θέσις**.

PAGE 35.

1. **διδοῦσι καὶ δεχομένοις τὰ δ.**—Coreyra had offered *δικας* in this case (c. 28, 2); but the Corinthian means that they would not enter into an alliance, a condition of which was regularly the settlement of disputes by arbitration.

4. **διὰ παντός**—temporal.

8. **τὰ εἰκότα θαυμάζεσθαι**—'to receive the proper marks of honour,' for which see c. 25, 4.

12. **ἀρέσκοντες**—*Soph. O. T.* 274 **ὅσοις τάδ' ἔστ' ἀρέσκοντ**'.

13. **ἐπιστρατεύομεν**—'nor is it our way to attack a colony exceptionally unless we have suffered . .'. The partic. must be *conditional*; but the sense is much improved by *ἐπειστρατεύομεν*, sc. *ἄν*, 'nor should we be attacking *them* (Coreyra) in a manner so exceptional' (as we are doing). Thus *μὴ* *ἄ.* would = *εἰ* *μὴ* *ἡδικούμεθα*. If *ἐπιστρατεύομεν* be right, *ἐκπρεπῶς* may = 'unreasonably,' being explained by *μὴ . . ἀδικούμενοι*: but 'exceptionally' has much more point here.

14. **καλὸν δ' ἥν**—cf. c. 37, 5.

16. *αἰσχρόν*—slight anacoluthon, adding to the vigour of the sentence.

17. *μετριότητα*—sc. *εἰ μέτροι ἡσαν*.

ὕβρει δὲ κτλ.—solemnity of 'gnomic' style; cf. L. & S. under *κόρος*.

19. *κακουμένην*—*temporal*.

20. *προσεποιοῦντο*—as in c. 8. 3. For the treatment of Epidamus by Corcyra see c. 24, and for the intervention of Corinth c. 26.

21. *ἴχουσι*—'now hold it.'

23. *ἥν γε κτλ.* = ἀλλὰ ταῦτη γε οὐκ ἐκεῖνον δι προύχων καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς προκαλεῖται, so that *προύχοντα*, 'from a position of superiority' (gained by the use of force), is co-ordinate with *ἐκ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς*.

25. *λέγειν τι*—'talk seriously.'

26. *ἐς ἵσον . . καθιστάντα*—this clause is in contrast with *προύχοντα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς*, and must mean that in order that a demand for arbitration may be entertained, the party making the demand must first set himself on a level with the other party not merely in free discussion with him, but (what is more important), by giving up any advantage he has gained till a decision is arrived at. Transl. 'but he who, before having recourse to arms, puts himself in deeds as well as in words on a level.' *πρὶν διαγωνίζεσθαι* may mean 'before any solution,' whether by arms or arbitration; but *πρὶν πολιορκεῖν* favours the more confined sense. The meaning of *ἐς ἵσον . . καθιστάντα* cannot be, according to the old explan., 'whose deeds square with his words.'

28. *πρὶν πολιορκεῖν*—*πρὶν* 'before'; for the infi. after a neg. preceding *πρὶν* cf. c. 68, 2.

PAGE 36.

5. *ξυμμαχεῖν . . ξυναδικεῖν*—c. 33, 4.

διαφόρους δῆτας agrees with *σφᾶς*.

7. *προσιέναι*—'to have applied to you.'

8. *ἐν φ*—'under present circumstances, when.'

11. *ἀπογενόμενοι* = *οὐ μεταλαβόντες*.

13. *κοινώσαντες*—'having given you a share in.' The confusion of *κοινοῦν* and *κοινωνεῖν* (have a share in) in mss. is very common. *τὰ ἀποβαίνοντα* means *ώφελία*, the natural result *τοῦ πάλαι κοινώσαι τὴν δύναμιν*. (*έγκλημάτων* in C is an

oversight—see the next line. The text of G gives a Scholium on this false reading from *πάλαι το ἐγκλημάτων*.)

21. ἀγράφων = τῶν μήπω ἐγγεγραμμένων.

οὐ τοὺς κτλ.—‘that clause does not apply to those whose application is intended to cause injury to others.’

22. ἀλλ’ (ἐκείνῳ) δοττις—‘who does not withdraw from another’; cf. c. 38, 1. For the construction of ἀποστερῶν Croiset quotes Antiphon v. 78 οὐκ ἀποστερῶν γε . . ἐαυτὸν οὐδενός (neut.).

24. τοῖς δεξαμένοις κτλ.—‘will not cause war instead of peace for those who have admitted them’: εἰ σωφρονοῦσι applies to the whole sentence, and means ‘as they—those to whom they make the application—know if they are prudent.’ The brachylogy is the same as in vi. 11, 7 οὐ περὶ τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ . . ὁ ἀγών, εἰ σωφρονοῦμεν, and also in iii. 44, 1. (This is Steup’s view, the best explanation that has been given of this awkward sentence. Classen, Stahl, Krüger and others assume that the ref. is to the conduct of the parties *after* the alliance is concluded, and understand ‘who will assure peace, not war to those who receive them, if they, οἱ δέξαμενοι, show ordinary discretion.’ Croiset seems to refer εἰ σωφρονοῦσιν to those *making the application*, but the two parallel passages tell against this. Weil proposes κελ σωφρονοῦσιν.)

25. ποιήσει—‘will cause.’

δ—i.e. τὸ πόλεμον ἔχειν κτλ.

PAGE 37.

3. ἐνσπόνδων—i.e. you would be wiped out of the thirty years’ truce, so far as we are concerned.

ἀνάγκη γάρ—the threat, we shall include you with them in our hostile measures, is vaguely expressed. τούτους is obj. to ἀμύνεσθαι, and μὴ δνεν ὑμῶν = μεθ’ ὑμῶν.

5. καὶ τοι—here means ‘and surely,’ not ‘and yet.’

δίκαιοι γ’—the personal construction common with δίκαιος.

6. ἐκποδῶν στῆναι—neutrality is your best plan.

9. δι’ ἀνοκωχῆς . . ἐγένεσθε—cf. c. 73, 2 δι’ δχλου εῖναι. ἀνοκωχῆ is an armistice.

10. ὁστε . . δέχεσθαι explains τὸν νόμον.

11. Σαμίων ἀποστάντων—in 440 B.C., c. 115. The resemblance between the two cases is more verbal than real.

The Corinthian keeps using *ἀποστῆναι* of Coreyra ; but Coreyra's *ἀπόστασις* was really only the estrangement of a colony from the mother-city, whereas Samos really revolted from the Athenian alliance.

13. **δίχα ἐψηφισμένων**—‘were divided in their votes.’
14. **ἀντείπομεν**—‘made a counter proposal.’
15. **αὐτόν**—*ipsum.* **τινά** = *πάντα τινά.*
16. **εἰ γὰρ τοὺς κακόν κτλ.** — an argument from expediency to support the exhortation *τὸν νόμον μὴ καθιστάναι . . δέχεσθαι.* But the *γὰρ* is strange, and should perhaps be altered to *δέ* or *τε*. (Steup proposes to place this sentence at the end of c. 42, where *τῷ αὐτίκα φανερῷ* fits in with *φανεῖται καὶ ά.*)

17. **τιμωρήσετε**—supply a dat. ; the case of the common object follows the partic. according to the usual const. ; cf. c. 5, 1.

φανεῖται καὶ ά—perhaps ‘a prophecy after the event’ due to Thuc. himself. Potidaea, Lesbos and other parts revolted not so long after. *ά* (in place of *οῖ*) adds to the bitterness of the sentence ; and the unexpected word *φανεῖται* is sarcastic, *φαίνομαι* being constantly used in this way of the coming of *deliverers, helpers, etc.* (οἱ λαφῆσων γὰρ οἱ πέφηντε πῶ, ὡς χρόνῳ φανεῖς and so on). From the point of view of Corinth the revolt would be a ‘coming’ of this kind.

23. **ἥν**—antecedent *χάριτος.* We are not your enemies, so you cannot refuse on *that* ground ; we are not your friends, so that you cannot object that services on both sides are natural, and that we should not reckon what we did for you as laying you under an obligation. The *ἐπι-* denotes *reciprocity* : ‘to be on terms of intimacy.’ This antithesis is somewhat artificial, and, but for the verbal correspondence, we should look for something like *ώστ' εἰκὸς εἴναι προίκα ἐπιχρῆσθαι ήμᾶς* (you and we) *ἀλλήλοις.* (The transl. ‘so as to use you freely’ would be easier ; but there is no authority for *ἐπιχρῆσθαι* in this sense.)

27. **ποτε**—in the first war with Aegina, 505–491 B.C. ; hence *ὑπὲρ τὰ Μηδικά* = *πρὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν*, see c. 14, 2.

2. **ἐπικράτησιν**—the partiality of Thuc. for nouns in *-σις* formed from verbs is well known ; some of them, like this and *πρέσβευσις* (c. 73), occur nowhere else in classical authors. A

good example of the preference for nouns over verbs occurs at c. 137, 4 *γράψας* . . . διάλυσιν: ἐνθύμησις, p. 117, l. 5.

4. *οἰς* for *ἐν οἰς* after *ἐν καιροῖς*, by a common idiom.

9. *τὰ οἰκεῖα*—‘their own interests.’

11. *νεώτερός τις*—in ref. to the Aeginetan War. The sing. has attracted the verbs into the sing. in spite of *ἐνθυμηθέντες*. *αὐτά* might of course have been omitted, but Thuc. is fond of putting it into the second member of a rel. sentence. (To repeat the rel. is exceptional.)

13. *τοῖς ὁμοῖοις ἀμύνεσθαι*—‘to requite us with like treatment.’ *ἀμύνομαι* in this sense generally implies the paying back of *injuries*, and here we should expect *ἀμείβεσθαι* (see crit. note, and cf. L. & S. under *ἀμείβομαι*). Presently we have an ordinary phrase, *τὸ ίσον ἀνταποδοῦναι*: but it may be that, in opposing the Corinthian “*δίκαιον*” to the Corcyrean “*ξυμφέρον*,” Thuc. purposely makes the speaker use a word that is properly used of dealings between *enemies*: the speaker means “*They say we are your enemies* (see c. 33, 3): *you must judge of that by our actions in the past, and pay us for our so-called enmity with the same sort of ‘enmity.’*”

15. *εἰ πολεμήσει*—‘in the event of war.’ The Corinthian, like the Corcyrean, insisted on (1) *τὸ δίκαιον*, (2) *τὸ ξυμφέρον*, but—as Fr. Müller says—he deals vaguely with the latter topic, since Corinth had clearly less to offer Athens than Corcyra had.

16. *ἐν ω̄—c. 37, 4. ἔπειτα*=‘is found,’ ‘is there.’ It is a *moral* sentiment—much like ‘virtue is its own reward’—but not much in point here. Grammatically *τις* is for *τινι*, being attracted into the relative clause.

17. *τὸ μέλλον τοῦ πολέμου*—i.e. it is not certain that war is coming.

20. *ἐπαρθέντας αὐτῷ*—‘prompted by that expectation’; Eur. *Orest.* 286 *δοτις μ' ἐπάρας ἔργον ἀνοσιώτατον* (‘to a . . .’) *κτλ.*

22. *ὑπαρχούσης πρότερον*—‘that existed already.’ This is the Engl. equivalent, though *ὑπαρχούσης* is really *imperf.* partic., past in reference to *ὑφείλομεν*. *ὑφελεῖν μᾶλλον* ‘is to diminish rather than to add to,’ and the *gen.* is *partitive* (*μᾶλλον* does not belong to *σῶφρον* as Classen took it). For *πρότερον* *ὑπῆρχε* cf. vii. 28 *πόλεμον οὐδὲν ἐλάσσω προσανείλοντο τοῦ πρότερον ὑπάρχοντος*. The transl. ‘that has existed for some time’ is simple, but scarcely justified.

διὰ Μεγαρέας—what event is alluded to? Edd. are much divided between (1) 'the Megarian decree,' by which Athens excluded Megara from all her ports and markets (c. 67); (2) the revolt of Megara to Athens after a dispute with Corinth (c. 103 for $\tauὸ σφοδρὸν μῆσος$ that Corinth conceived for Athens on this account) in 465 B.C.; (3) the revolt of Megara with Corinthian support, *from* Athens in 445 B.C. (cc. 114-115). The *ὑποψία* is that felt by Corinth, so that (3) appears unlikely—note *ἔγκλημα*. As (1) is the only one of these events that had happened since the thirty years' truce, it is the most probable; but the date of the Megarian decree is unfortunately doubtful, and some suppose, on insufficient evidence, that it was not passed so early as 433 B.C.

23. **ἡ τελευταῖα χάρις**—the service that Athens will render to Corinth by refusing the Coreyrean request. 'This will be highly opportune, though involving a trifling sacrifice' (Morris).

25. **μεῖζον ἔγκλημα**—the complaint that we have against you about Megara. (If the first explan. above is right, this *ἔγκλημα* would be that Athens had violated the thirty years' truce.)

PAGE 39.

1. **διὰ κινδύνων**—with *ἔχειν* = *ἐπικινδύνως*. Classen constructs $\tauὸ$ with *πλέον*, to which it is objected that *πλέον* *ἔχειν*, not $\tauὸ$ *πλέον* *ἔχειν* = *πλεονεκτεῖν*, 'be grasping'; and hence Cl. proposed *τι* for $\tauὸ$. But **διὰ . . . ἔχειν** is a combination of two phrases:

- (1) **διὰ κινδύνων τὴν δύναμιν ἔχειν**,
- (2) **διὰ κινδύνων πλέον ἔχειν**.

For (1) cf. vii. 8 $\tauὸ στρατόπεδον$ **διὰ φυλακῆς μᾶλλον** η **δι'** *ἔκονσιν* **κινδύνων** *ἔχων*. The *art.* before *πλέον* is occasioned by the preceding *δύναμις*. Stahl constructs $\tauὸ$ with *ἔχειν*, but the position of the *two* members outside the article— $\tauῷ . . . ἐπαρθέντας$ and **διὰ κ.**—is against this.

2. **περιπεπτωκότες οἴς . . . κολάζειν**—the simplest explan. is 'now that we find ourselves in the condition that we spoke of at Sparta, when we urged . . .' Thus *οἴς* = *ἐκείνοις* *αἱ προεπομεν* does double duty, 'spoke of, and urged that' and *τοὺς . . . κολάζειν* is *epexegetic*. The only objection is that this is rather artificial. The *condition* alluded to is that of a city whose allies are in *ἀπόστασις*, as Corinth holds that Coreya is from her—**διὰ παντὸς ἀφεστᾶσι**. Stahl followed by Classen and others supplies *περιπεπτωκότα* after

oīs, 'now that we find ourselves in the circumstances in which, as we ourselves urged . . .' This is doubtful grammar. Dobree bracketed *τοὺς . . κολάζειν* as spurious and repeated from c. 40: this gives an easy construction, and *σφετέρους* instead of *ἐαυτοῦ*, with sing. *αὐτόν τινα*, is unusual.

18. *τῇ μὲν προτέρᾳ*—temporal, like *μάχῃ τῇ πρώτῃ* vii. 11. *ἐν δὲ τῇ ὑστεραλᾳ* (*έκκλησίᾳ*) must mean 'in the assembly held on the following day,' according to the meaning of such adjs. in *-αιος*. Cobet read *ὑστέρᾳ*, 'in the subsequent assembly.' We must assume that the assembly met on the next day when a debate was adjourned (and this seems to be the meaning of *καὶ δις*). There is no evidence.

23. *σφίσιν = τοῖς Κερκυραῖοις. αὐτοῖς = τοῖς Ἀθηναῖοις.*

ἐκελευον . . ἐλύοντ' ἀν—the condition expressed from the point of view of Thuc. himself (Forbes).

25. *ἐπιμαχίαν*—a defensive (*ξυμμαχία*, an offensive and defensive) alliance.

26. *τῇ ἀλλήλων*—c. 15, 2.

PAGE 40.

1. *καὶ ὥσ*—i.e. even if they rejected the Corcyrean request altogether. *ώσ = οὐτως* often after *καὶ, ἀλλ', οὐδ', μήδ'*.

6. *ναυτικὸν ἔχουσιν*—to be regarded as one word. Hence the insertion of *τοῖς* before *ναυτικὸν* is unnecessary.

8. *ἐν παράπλῳ*—contrast the construction at c. 36, 2.

14. *Κίμωνος*—the great statesman. Plutarch says that he had given this name to his son out of compliment to Sparta.

18. *ἐκείνων = τῶν Κερκυραίων.*

22. *παρεσκεύαστο*—impers.

PAGE 41.

1. *πέμπτος αὐτός*—cf. c. 61, 1; 116, 1. The form of phrase denotes the chief in command.

2. *κατά*—'opposite.'

6. *ἔξησι*—of water discharging into the sea only in Thuc. and Herod. until Polybius. These geographical details remind us of a similar passage in ii. 102. Mr. Forbes thinks

that Thuc. mentions the city because there was no town, but only a roadstead at Chimerium. But in the facts that follow there is no special significance, and it is more likely that we have here a trace of the manner of the logographers. Thuc., like them, is not averse to imparting information 'by the way.'

8. ἔσβάλλει—the ordinary word in Attic in this sense is ἔμβάλλει.

10. ἔχει—sc. ἡ λίμνη.

ρέι—sc. ἔντριψθα.

13. τῆς ἡπείρου—partitive with a verb, as in ἀλλγ τῆς πελεως, etc.

20. παρῆσαν—'were there,' not 'arrived.'

αὐτοῖς—Thuc. has this curious order several times.

21. Ζακυνθίων—allies of Athens. The interest and policy of Zacynthus coincided with those of Corcyra.

24. παρα·βεβοηθηκότες—'along the coast'; cf. παρα·πλεῖ.

27. τριῶν ἡμερῶν σιτία—cf. τριῶν μηνῶν μισθός, δσου εἶχον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, etc.

28. ὡς ἐπι—both dat. and accus. are found in the same sense with this expression, and with a verb of motion the dat. occurs iii. 4, 3; vi. 34, 5.

PAGE 42.

5. τὸ δὲ ἄλλο—the construction shifts.

7. τῶν—necessary, because of c. 47, 1. The object of the peculiar order is to draw ἐκάστου εἰς together.

11. ὡς ἐκαστοι—cf. c. 3, 4.

12. ταῖς ἀριστα τῶν νεῶν πλεούσαις—notice the order of the partitive gen.: the rule in Attic is that it is not placed in attributive position unless the last word is an adj. or partic., and even then it is rare except in Thuc.: the most exceptional instance of this order is iv. 62 τοὺς τῶν Σικελῶν ('among the S.') ξυμμάχους.

16. πολλοὺς μὲν διπλίτας—in the Pel. War only ten ἐπι·βάται were on board; and it is specially noted (in the case of what battle?) in the seventh book as exceptional to have many fighting men on a trireme. But in the earlier sea-fights the

opposing ships were rowed alongside, and the battle was really 'a land fight on sea.'

19. ἀπειρότερον ἔτι—'still with little experience' of naval tactics.

21. τέχνη—dat. of *cause*, 'not so much because of the skill displayed, but for the most part (sc. καρτερά) resembling a land engagement.' The latter clause means 'it was like a stoutly contested land battle.'

25. μᾶλλον τι—'considerably more.' The phrase is common.

26. καταστάντες—καθίστημι means frequently 'put into a (settled) state,' with *és*: the intrans. 'settle down.' As the ships were motionless, a *regular* pitched battle was fought.

27. διέκπλοι—the famous manœuvre consisted of 'rowing through the intervals of the enemy's line, and thus getting in their rear, . . . and before the ship of the adversary could change its position, of striking it either in the stern, or in some weak part' (Grote). It is first heard of in Herod. vi. 12.

PAGE 43.

3. παραγιγνόμεναι—iterative.

5. μάχης . . . ἡρχον—'take the aggressive.'

6. πρόρρησιν=ἢ προειρητο.

10. σποράδας—'in confusion.'

13. ἔρήμους—sc. ούσας: cf. Xen. *Anab.* II. i. 6 πέλται καὶ ἀμαξαι ἡσαν φέρεσθαι ἔρημοι.

15. [τε]—this joins the whole clause *oi Koplinthoi* . . . ἡσσώντο to the second. It is scarcely necessary to bracket it.

18. ἀπὸ ἐλάσσονος πλήθους—compare the total numbers, c. 46, 1; 47, 1.

24. ἐγίγνετο—'was beginning': better than ἐγένετο—the completion is first alluded to in c. 50, 1.

λαμπρῶς—'decidedly.' τότε δῆ introduces the decisive act.

26. ξυνέπεσεν—impers., 'things came to such a pass.'

PAGE 44.

1. τὰ σκάφη μὲν κτλ.—all iterative, the imperfs. referring to the several hulls disabled.

3. **ἀς**—when a rel. sentence stands for a substantive, no antecedent being expressed, Thuc. regularly attracts the rel., as in c. 37, 3 δικαστὰς ὡν βλάπτοντι. In ii. 61 ἐγκαρπεῖν & ζηνωτε is for ἐγκαρπεῖν ἔκεινα (not ἔκεινοις) & ξ. But when a rel. sentence stands as an adjective, the rel. is not necessarily attracted; cf. e.g. c. 52. 2 αἰχμαλώτων . . . οἵς . . . εἶχον: vii. 1, 2 etc. See n. on p. 87 l. 16.

καταδύσειαν—not sank, but ‘disabled.’ The usual way was to tow them away as prizes.

4. **φονεύειν** . . . ζωγρεῖν—depending on ἐτράποντο as in ἐτράποντο τὰ πράγματα ἐνδιδόνται ii. 65. Thus ἐτράποντο has here a double construction. **φονεῖω** is an Ionic word, not found in prose outside Herod. and Thuc.

διεκπλέοντες—the edd. point out that this cannot be the technical **διέκπλοντος**—the object of which, indeed, was not to kill, but to disable an enemy’s ship (see on c. 49)—but merely alludes to rowing in amongst the enemy’s disabled ships.

6. **οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ κέρᾳ**—the Ambraciots and Megarians (c. 48, 4) who were defeated and pursued to the mainland (c. 49, 5). It is not possible to see how the conquering Corinthians on the left could have fallen in with any of the flying right wing unless some of those on the right wing had not fled with the rest towards the mainland; and that some were left behind is suggested by **ἐπὶ πολὺ . . . ἐπεχονσῶν**.

9. **ξυνέμειξαν**—plup. in sense, and this clause belongs to what follows.

10. **όποιοι**—not much different from **οἵτινες**, but denoting, as Stahl points out, that there were no distinguishing marks of dress and appearance to show whether those they fell in with belonged to the winning or losing side. Cf. the common use of **ποῖοι** for **τίς** in tragedy.

11. **ναυμαχία γάρ**—cf. c. 1, 2.

22. **καὶ δσαι**—i.e. those that had taken no part in the previous engagement.

26. **πειρῶσιν**—only Herod. and Thuc. use the active where Attic generally has **πειρῶμαι**.

1. **πρύμναν ἐκρούοντο**—‘began to back,’ so as to retire; cf. **ἀνακρούεσθαι** with or without **πρύμναν**.

6. δλίγαι ἀμύνειν — cf. ii. 61 ταπεινὴ ὑμῶν ἡ διάνοια ἔγκαρτερεῖν ; v. 3, 2 τὰ ὑπάρχοντα βραχέα περιγίγνεσθαι.

7. ὑποτοπήσαντες — rare and poetical verb, used by Thuc. several times only in aor. infin. or partic.

9. τοῖς δὲ Κερκυραῖοις — dat. of agent, which Thuc. with the poets uses with all parts of the passive.

10. ἐπέπλεον — sc. αἱ Ἀττικαὶ νῆες. With ἐκ τοῦ ἀφανοῦς supply αὐτοῖς, 'from a quarter where they were invisible.'

12. πρὶν — 'until': here and elsewhere the indic. is used after a positive sentence; but notice οὐχ ἐωρῶντο, and see *M.T.* § 635.

13. ἐκεῖναι — 'yonder.' Notice the vivid form.

16. η ἀπαλλαγὴ ἐγένετο = ἀπηλλάγησαν.

17. ἐτελεύτα ἐς νύκτα — pregnant construction.

21. Ἀνδοκίδης — there is some doubt about the name, because an inscription relating to the expenses of this fleet is extant, and in it Glaucon is mentioned as στρατηγός, and two other names, both mutilated, are given (see crit. note); neither name can have been Andocides. However, if Andocides did hold some sort of command in this fleet, he is the grandfather of the orator Andocides. (My opinion is that the text is right, and that Thuc. has made a mistake here. If Andocides is the wrong name, Leogoras, too, must be due to corruption; and the double corruption seems very unlikely. If Andocides sen. had held this command, the orator would have alluded to the matter. He mentions that his grandfather had a hand in the thirty years' peace.)

26. ὠρμίσαντο — subject 'the Athenian ships,' the abrupt change being characteristic.

PAGE 46.

4. βουλόμενοι — for this 'sense' construction after νῆες cf. 110, 4.

5. τὰς μὲν ναῦς — poetical construction with αἴρω in this sense; elsewhere it is absol. or has τὰς ναυσίν. Croiset compares αἴρειν στόλον in tragedy.

12. ἐπισκευὴν οὐκ οὐσαν — sc. ὄρωντες, the two examples of τὰ ἀπορα being given in different form.

13. τοῦ . . πλοῦ = περὶ τοῦ πλοῦ, anticipating διπη κομισθήσονται: the gen. placed thus at the head of a sentence with a verb

of speaking or thinking about is common in Plato; and the constr. comes down from epic. For trag. cf. Soph. *O.T.* 317, *Trach.* 169 *τοῦ κασιγνήτου τί φήσ;* Plat. *Rep.* 576 D *εὐδαιμονίας ὥστε τὰς ἄλλας πάσι κρίνεις;*

18. *ἄνευ κηρυκείου*—cf. c. 146. Had they sent him with a herald's wand they would have admitted a state of war, and treated the Athenians as enemies.

21. *πολέμου ἀρχοντες*—‘acting as aggressors in war and breaking treaties’: in reality the ref. is to the thirty years’ treaty, but the vague expression heightens the effect.

26. *λύετε*—we expect *λύειν.* *εἰ δέ* nearly = *ἐπειδὴ δέ*.

PAGE 47.

1. *τῶν δὲ Κερκυραίων*—this is divided into *τὸ μὲν στρατό πεδὸν* and *οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι*, possibly because the Athenians and Coreyreans together make up the other, or Coreyrean, side; possibly by a slight anacoluthon.

2. *δσον*—‘as far as they’ were within hearing.

16. *τά τε ναυάγια καὶ νεκρούς*—the *τε* is answered by *καὶ τροπαῖον ἀντέστησαν*. The Coreyreans were able to recover their dead without asking permission. Hence, technically, they could support a claim to have won a success.

17. *κατὰ σφᾶς*—‘opposite them,’ i.e. ‘on their coast.’ The *τά* before *κατά* makes *τοῖς νεκροῖς* unlikely.

18. *(ὑπὸ) ἀνέμου, δέ*—‘a wind which.’

20. *τοῖς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Συβότοις*—Sybota must be the name of some place on one of the group of islands collectively called Sybota.

28. *τριάκοντα ναῦς*—c. 49, 5: *ἀνελόμενοι* c. 54, 1: *ὅτι ὑπεχώρησαν* c. 51, 1: *οὐκ ἀντεπέπλεον* c. 52, 2. The claims put forward by the Coreyreans are set out in a formal style; notice esp. the repetition of *ἐπειδὴ* ‘A. ηλθον.

PAGE 48.

11. *κοινόν*—‘in common.’ Coreyra must have had some share in the colonisation of Anactorium.

16. *ἐν θεραπείᾳ εἶχον*—‘treated them with great consideration,’ cf. *θεραπείω* and *θεράπων*. These prisoners returned in 427 B.C. and civil war broke out in Coreyra.

19. **δυνάμει**—‘influence.’

21. **περιγγέται**—not ‘defeated,’ but ‘maintained its ground.’ Corinth had not secured Epidamnus.

25. **ἐς τὸν Ἀ.**—cf. c. 66, 1.

PAGE 49.

1. **διάφορα**—‘constituting matters of dispute leading to war.’

2. **πρασσόντων ὅπως**—‘forming plans of.’

7. **φόρου ὑποτελεῖς**—c. 19.

8. **τὸ ἐς Παλλήνην**—i.e. the southern wall (see map), so that Potidaea would be accessible from the sea.

10. **ἐπιδημιουργούς**—*δημιουργός* is known from inscriptions to be the title of magistrates in many Dorian cities. *ἐπι-* would mean chief magistrates exercising some sort of general supervision.

13. **Περδίκκου**—Perdiccas II. of Macedon, son of Alexander the Philhellene. His shifty policy gave Athens much trouble in the Pel. War. Before 432 he was in alliance with Athens: but he presently encouraged Potidaea to revolt because Athens was in alliance with his brother Philip and his cousin Derdas. In 431 he was reconciled for a time to Athens.

14. **ἐπὶ Θράκης**—prop. ‘in the direction of Thrace,’ the regular way of referring collectively to the Greek cities on the coast of Thrace, esp. Chalcidice.

15. **ταῦτα δὲ κτλ.**—‘the battle . . . had only recently been fought when the A. . . .’

19. **φανερῶς ἤδη**—their *hatred* of Athens is of earlier origin. See p. 38 l. 22 note.

21. **ἐπεπολέμωτο**—c. 36, 1.

25. **Ἐς τε πέμπων . . . καὶ . . . προσεποιεῖτο**—the construction passes from the partic. to the finite verb. This form of anacoluthon is by no means confined to Thuc. ; but cf. e.g. ii. 47, 3 *λεγόμενον μὲν . . . οὐ μέντοι . . . ἐμυημονεύετο γενέσθαι.*

PAGE 50.

1. **προσεποιεῖτο**—‘tried to . . .’

8. **Ἐτυχον γάρ** introduces what follows, as in c. 31, 2.

10. *αὐτοῦ*—Perdiccas.

11. *δέκα*—there would thus be *eleven* *στρατηγοί*, and *five* more belonging to the same year are mentioned in c. 61. As the number of *στρατηγοί* was regularly ten, Kruger altered *δέκα* to *τεσσάρων* (δ'). But instead of *μετ' ἄλλων τεσσάρων* we expect *πεμπτοῦ αὐτοῦ*. Perhaps Thuc. wrote only *μετ' ἄλλων*, and had no record of the number; cf. c. 51, 4.

20. [*ἐπρασσον*—this spoils the structure of the period, for the principal sentence must begin at *τότε δή*. There is, for example, a similar intrusion of a verb—*μετεῖχον*—in ii. 16; *ἔξεστιν* in viii. 27.

22. *ἐκ πολλοῦ*—‘for a long time.’

23. *αἱ νῆσοι αἱ*—‘the ships that were to operate against M. (c. 57, 6) were sent just as much against themselves.’

25. *τὰ τέλη*—c. 10. 4; cf. *παντελής*, having full *τέλος*.

27. *κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον*—this occurs after *τότε δή* again in ii. 84.

PAGE 51.

4. *ἀνοικίσασθαι*—c. 7.

5. *μίαν πόλιν* L—predicate.

6. *τῆς ἁυτοῦ γῆς*—partitive, with *ἔδωκε*. *τῆς Μυγδονίας* may be in apposition, but perhaps depends on *περὶ τῆς Λίμνης*. The construction would be improved with *τὰ* before *περὶ*, as *νέμομαι περὶ* is unusual. *νέμεσθαι* depends on *ἔδωκε*: ‘to cultivate and live from’ (Forbes).

14. *ἀφεστηκότα*—‘in a state of revolt.’

16. *ξυναφεστῶτα*—not ‘with Perdiccas,’ but ‘together.’

18. *τὸ πρῶτον*—this was their *original* purpose. The orders about Potidaea had been added subsequently.

20. *ἄνωθεν*—‘from the upper country.’

21. *ἐν τούτῳ*—‘hereupon.’

24. *περὶ*—common in Thuc. with dat. after verbs of *fear*, and this is usual in Attic. *ἔφοβεῖτο περὶ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ* in viii. 93 is unusual.

27. *τοὺς πάντας*—‘in all.’

PAGE 52.

4. **ὑστερον** . . **ἢ**—cf. *τούναντίον* **ἢ**. We might have *ἐπει*, *ἐπειδή*, *ἀφ'* *οὐ* or *ὅτε* in place of this. (**ἢ**, not **ἢ**, is probably necessary. The confusion of the two is common.)

7. **τῶν πόλεων**—objective; cf. *Antig.* 11 *μῦθος φίλων*.

9. **ἐπιπαριόντας**—technical word of an army advancing on an objective. The force seems to have gone by land (*ἐπιπαρόντας* of the MSS. is almost certainly a blunder). Cf. *Anab.* III. iv. 30 *κατὰ τὸ ὅρος ἐπιπαριόντες ἀφίκοντο εἰς τὰς κώμας*.

14. **τοὺς προτέρους**—c. 57, 6.

15. **Θέρμη**—Thessalonica.

16. **προσκαθεζόμενοι**—the form does duty as aorist; cf. c. 24, 7; p. 120 l. 5.

20. **παρεληλυθώς**—‘the arrival of.’

22. **ἐς Βέροιαν**—Beroea is in Macedonia, and seems out of the route. Herbst proposed to read *περαιωθέντες ἐκεῖθεν* for *ἐς Βέροιαν κακεῖθεν*. The text cannot be regarded as certain. Grote thinks another Beroea, otherwise unknown, must be meant.

ἐπὶ Στρέψαν—this well-known conjecture for *ἐπιστρέψαντες* suits excellently with *πειράσαντες τοῦ χωρίου*, which with the MSS. reading gives no sense. The exact position of Strepса is unknown; but no objection lies in the fact that it is not mentioned by Herod. in a list of Greek cities on the Thermaic Gulf (vii. 123), as it may very well have lain outside the limits with which Herod. is dealing.

PAGE 53.

6. **πρὸς Ὀλύνθου**—‘on the side towards Olynthus’ near Potidaea (= *τῆς πόλεως*). The other reading *Ὀλύνθῳ*, is inconsistent with § 3, and as Jowett says, Aristeus cannot have left Potidaea unprotected.

8. **ἔξω τῆς πόλεως**—the plan of bringing the necessaries outside a city and selling them to troops encamped there was often adopted when it was desirable that the men should not go inside. We hear of it elsewhere in Thue. and in the *Anab.*

14. **τοῦ Ἀριστέως . . ἔχοντι**—*ἔχοντα* (see crit. note) would be regular before the infin.; but *ἔχοντι* is likely to have been altered to this. The dat. is used as if *ἔδοξε τῷ Ἀριστεῖ* had

preceded. The only exact parallels cited for this are from Homer and tragedy; cf. Soph. *O. T.* 350 ἐννέπω σὲ . . . ἐμμένειν . . . ὡς δυτι. In order to avoid the change, *τῷ μὲν* for *τὸ μέν* agreeing with *ἔχοντι* has been proposed; but the expression so produced (*τῷ . . . ἔχοντι*) is not very probable: we should expect *αὐτῷ μέν*.

16. *τοὺς ἔξω Ισθμοῦ*—‘the (other) allies from beyond the Isthmus’ (of Pallene). *Ισθμός* is treated as a proper name.

19. *ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν*—i.e. himself being on their north side and the Chalcidians and Bottiaeans attacking them from the city.

24. *τοὺς ἐκεῖθεν*—cf. c. 8, 2: 18, 1.

25. *ἀναστήσαντες τὸ σ.*—‘having broken up the camp’ at Gigonus.

PAGE 54.

1. *ξυνέμισγον*—the battle of Potidaea. It was probably not in this battle that Soerates saved Alcibiades’ life; but in another battle at Potidaea in 430 B.C.

4. *λογάδες*—for the ordinary *ἐπιλέκτοι*, not used by other Attic prose writers. (Suidas, s.v. *λογάδην*.)

7. *τὸ καθ’ ἑαυτούς*—‘the division that faced them.’

5. *ἐπὶ πολύ*—of ground covered.

7. *ἐς τὸ τάχος*—of Potidaea.

12. *διακινδυνεύσῃ*—deliberative. *χωρήσας* with *όποτέρωσε*.

13. *δ’ οὖν*—for MSS. *γοῦν*: see the same correction at c. 10, 5. Here *δ’ οὖν* suggests a hesitation on the part of Aristeus, the details of which Thuc. has omitted.

14. *ώς ἐς Ἐλάχιστον χωρίον*—i.e. to concentrate his division so that closely united it might force its way.

16. *παρὰ τὴν χηλήν*—the object is to enter Potidaea from the *south*, as it would have been risky with the enemy in the way to have forced a way in at the north. The *χηλή* is a mole or break-water running out into the sea, which at low tide is shallow, on the east side of the city.

18. *ἀποβαλάν*—this is used specially of losing men by a sudden attack of an enemy.

19. *ἀπέχει*—sc. Olynthus; *ἀπεῖχε* (see crit. note) would be a common use of imperf. in giving geographical details; cf.

e.g. ii. 13 *τοῦ . . τείχους στάδιοι ήσαν κτλ.*; many exx. from *Anabasis* in Kühner's n. on *Anab.* I. iv. 9. Of course the pres. is also possible, and *ἔστι* favours it here. (The imperf. is equally used when the fact given implies the result of the writer's observation: so that it is not right to draw a distinction here.)

20. *ἔστι*—sc. the ground between the two cities.
22. *ἥρθη*—to summon the troops from Olynthus.
26. *κατεσπάσθη*—plup. in sense.

PAGE 55.

1. *παρεγένοντο*—*ἐν τῷ μάχῃ*.

6. *'Αθηναίων δέ*—the inscription placed over the monument of these men in the Ceramicus is in the Brit. Mus.: Hicks, *Manual*, p. 59. The last of the three stanzas is:

*"Ανδρας μὲν πόλις ἦδε ποθεῖ καὶ δῆμος Ἐρεχθέως,
πρόσθε Ποτειδαλος οὐ θάνον ἐν προμάχοις
παῖδες Ἀθηναίων. ψυχὰς δ' ἀντίρροπα θέντες
ἡλλάξαντ' ἀρετήν—καὶ πατρίδ' εὐκλέισαν.*

αὐτῶν—Thuc. had not heard the numbers of the allies who fell.

7. *ἐκ*—cf. *πρός*, which might have been used here, c. 62, 1.
8. *τείχος*—this is deleted by Classen and others; but the sense is 'they cut off (from communication with the north) the northern *wall*'—of course by building a wall farther north. See below § 3. *ἔφρούρουν* is intrans.
10. *ἀτείχιστον*—not 'unfortified,' which is not true (see c. 56, 2), but 'not walled off,' 'not isolated' from the south.
13. *διαβάντες*—by sea.
14. *γενομένοις*—the aor., though weakly supported, is necessary, 'if they should *have divided*' being clearly the sense. In vi. 100 we have correctly *φοβούμενοι μὴ σφίσι διχα γυγνομένοις ῥάον μάχωνται*, because there the sense is 'if they made a practice of.'
15. *ἐν τῷ πόλει*—at Athens.
18. *Φορμίωνα*—the celebrated admiral.
20. *'Αφύτιος*—Ionic gen. of *'Αφυτίς*: cf. e.g. *Τήρης Τήρεω* ii. 29.

23. ἀπετείχισε τὸ . . τεῖχος—the bracketing of *τεῖχος* makes the sense 'walled it off on the south side'; cf. *τὸ δὲ ἐσ τὴν Ηλλήνην* above § 1 (where, however, *τεῖχος* may be supplied). But 'walled off the south *wall*' may very well be the meaning as above in 1. 8. Classen retains *τεῖχος* here and renders 'built across the south line of circumvallation.' This is scarcely the meaning of *ἀποτείχισε*.

26. *ναυσὶν ἄμα ἐφ*.—'with a fleet blockading it.'

PAGE 56.

1. ξυνεβούλευε . . ἤθελε . . ἤπειθε—like *ἔκελεν*: such words being often used in imperf. when a speaker is giving advice.

3. *ἀνεμον τηρήσασι*—cf. *τηρήσαντες τὸν πορθμὸν* vi. 2.

6. *τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις*—cf. *ὡς ἐπὶ τοίτοις* vi. 45; vii. 45; 'what was now necessary.' Ar. *Eccles.* 82 *τὰ τοίτοις δράσομεν*.

7. *διπῶς* also depends on *παρασκευάζειν*.

τὰ ξέωθεν—referring to what he could do for Potidaea when he got outside.

10. *Σερμυλιῶν . . πολλούς*—Sermyle on the west coast of Sithonia.

11. *ἐσ . . ἐπρασσεν*—'negotiated with'; cf. e.g. *πρὸς δὲ ἐπράξαν* ii. 7.

12. *διπῇ* = 'as to how.'

13. *μετὰ δέ*—now begins the costly siege of Potidaea.

18. *αἰτίαι μέν*—answered by *οὐ μέντοι*. What follows shows that *αἰτίαι* alludes only to the dispute about Potidaea—not to the affair of Corcyra as well.

προυγεγένητο—this (*προε-*), not *προσεγεγένητο*, is the reading of all good MSS. As the ref. is to Potidaea only we should expect either *προσεγεγένητο* 'had been added' to the Corcyrean dispute)—and this is read by many edd.—or *αἰτίαι μὲν καὶ αἰτίαι*: cf. c. 56, 1 *καὶ τάδε ξινέβη . . διάφορα*. But *προ-* can stand; for now it is 'Αθηναῖοι καὶ Πελοποννησῖοι, not merely 'A. καὶ Κορινθῖοι. Thuc. clearly means that the Corcyrean affair did not constitute a ground of war with Pel. in general: and now explains why the dispute about Potidaea was such, though even that was a matter for Corinth on her own account in the first instance. *προ-* means 'before Sparta took any part.' Cf. c. 67, 1.

25. **σφίσιν**—with *έμάχοντο*, not as in c. 13, 3 ; 27, 1 ; 61, 1 with *έλθοντες*.

27. **ξυνερρώγει**—*ξυρρήγνυμι*.

PAGE 57.

4. **τε**—‘so.’

παρεκάλουν—‘invited,’ not by formal summons, which belonged to Sparta.

6. **κατεβόων**—with *gen.* ‘loudly accuse’ ; with *accus.*, ‘shout down.’

7. **σπονδάς**—c. 53, 2.

9. **φανερῶς**—they were dependent allies of Athens.

10. **κρύφα**—sc. *πρεσβευθμενοι*.

12. **κατὰ τὸς σπονδάς**—the thirty years’ truce ; nothing is known of this particular clause in it.

13. **προσπαρακαλέσαντες**—thus supporting the Corinthian invitation. Steup renders ‘summoned before the assembly,’ holding that the embassies had already arrived in Sparta as the result of the Cor. invitation. This is impossible, unless we alter the text to *προσκαλέσαντες* : see c. 87, 4.

τῶν ξυμμάχων τε—partitive ; edd. generally omit *τε* and make *τῶν ξυμμάχων* depend on *εἰ τις* (*καὶ* = ‘also’). If *τε* is sound, then *εἰ τις* must mean any one else in the position of Aegina : no other state outside the Pel. alliance seems to have sent ; see c. 69, 1 ; 87, 4.

14. **ἄλλο**—besides those wrongs alleged by Corinth and Aegina. Some accept Reiske’s *ἄλλος* with or without the *τε*. The invitation is to all who hold that in their case Athens had in any particular broken the thirty years’ truce.

15. **ποιήσαντες**—‘called.’

20. **εὑργεσθατεῖ**—see c. 139.

24. **ἐπεῖπον**—‘added’ to what the others had said.

25. **τὸ πιστόν**—‘honesty,’ the good faith you show in your public and private life. This is the outcome of the ‘Lycurgean’ system. Cf. what Xen. says in the *Polity of the Lac.*, of their virtues, which, when he wrote, were a thing of the past : ‘They endeavoured to be worthy to lead . . Others would go to Sparta and ask to be led by her against those who

were thought guilty of wrong-doing. . . Nowadays they obey neither God nor the ordinances of Lycurgus.'

26. **καθ' ὑμᾶς αὐτούς**—‘among yourselves.’

27. **ἀπιστοτέρους ἐσ τοὺς ἄλλους**—i.e. **ἐσ (ημᾶς) τοὺς ἄλλους**, hence **λέγωμεν**. Some, however, take **ἐσ τοὺς ἄλλους ήν τι λ.** together=‘if we bring any charge against others.’

28. **ἀπ' αὐτοῦ**—i.e. **ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπιστοτέρους εἶναι**. It is a mark of prudence or sobriety, but it leads you into more mistakes than you would make if you were less cautious in believing complaints.

PAGE 58.

5. **τῶν λεγόντων**=(τόδε) **τῶν λεγόντων**, so that the **ώς** clause governs **τῶν λεγόντων**, cf. c. 52, 3. The gen. is often similarly used with **θαυμάζω**.

6. **τῶν . . διαφόρων**—‘private interests,’ i.e. the interests of their city apart from the interests of the Pel. confederacy. *iδιά* does not mean ‘individual’ here. For such complaints to Sparta see c. 90, and for the negligence of Sparta see c. 118, 2.

7. **πάσχειν**—‘we begin to . .’

9. **ἐν οἷς**—(1) some render, ‘before whom’; cf. e.g. c. 85; (2) others, after Classen, with **οὐχ ἡκιστα**, ‘and we among them have the best right,’ as in viii. 68 **ἐν τοῖς ξιγκαταλύοντι . . πρώτος ήν**. The latter suits the passage better.

10. **δσφ**—‘inasmuch as’: the **καὶ** balances **μέγιστα** with **οὐχ ἡκιστα**. We should render ‘inasmuch as . . , we have also the greatest right.’

15. **εἰδόστι**—sc. **ὑμῖν**.

16. **μακρηγορεῖν, ὅν**—most edd. supply **ημᾶς** (= **τοὺς ξύμμαχους**). And **τοὺς μέν** is then explained as Aegina; but how can Aegina be included under the **ξύμμαχοι** of Sparta? See c. 67, 3 **εἰ τις**. It is on all grounds better to understand **ὅν** as for **ἐπειλέκεινων** (i.e. **τῶν Ἐλλήνων** from **τὴν Ἐλλάδα**) with Conradt who is followed by Steup. Thus **τοὺς μέν** naturally refers to the subject allies of Athens, against whom it was a constant complaint that she ‘enslaved the Greeks.’

18. **ἡμετέροις ξ.**—Potidaea and her allies in Chalcidice: since they had revolted from Athens, they are reckoned as allies of Corinth.

19. **προταρεσκευασμένους**—the relative is now lost sight of.

πολεμήσονται—pass., 'shall become involved in war.'

20. **ὑπολαβόντες**—a gross misrepresentation.

23. **ἀποχρῆσθαι**—'to make full use of (as a base of operations) in dealing with . . .' (Poppo's view that *αὐτοῖς* = *τοῖς ἐπὶ Θ.* is to be supplied to *ἀποχρῆσθαι* is clearly wrong.)

27. **κρατῦναι κτλ.**—see cc. 90 and 107.

28. **ἐσ τόδε = μέχρι τοῦδε.**

PAGE 59.

1. **ἀποστεροῦντες**—a good ex. of the proper meaning, 'withhold' what belongs to another.

τοὺς ὑπ' ἐκείνων δ.—the subject allies of Athens; see c. 68, 3. Sparta in the Pel. War claimed to be the 'liberator of Greece.' She had gained the reputation by her opposition to the *τύραννοι*.

2. **τοὺς ὑμετέρους**—the plain meaning is that A. has begun to act aggressively towards Megara and Corinth. (Perhaps *ἡμετέρους* used loosely as in c. 68, 3 is right here—see crit. note—or *ὑμετέρους* should be read there.)

5. **αὐτὸς δρᾶ**—c. 5, 2.

τὴν ἀξίωσιν . . φέρεται—'enjoys a reputation for generosity'—lit. 'that, i.e. *her*, reputation . . , gained by such actions.'

7. **μόλις δὲ νῦν γε**—see crit. note. If we assume a transposition for *ἄλλὰ νῦν τε μόλις ξιν. καὶ κτλ.* the *τε* might stand; but *γε* is certainly idiomatic here.

8. **ἐπὶ φανεροῖς**—'with a clear issue before us.' **χρῆν γάρ** explains this clause.

10. **οἱ γάρ δρῶντες κτλ.**—a notoriously difficult sentence. The transl. 'for they who act advance with plans already formed and without delaying, against men who have not made up their minds,' in ref. to Athenian energy, is simple; but the statement is not true when made universal, and we certainly look for a direct ref. to the Athenians (hence the conjectures *οἱ γε, οἵπερ, οἱ γάρ Ἀθηναῖοι* for *οἱ γάρ*). Classen rendered *οἱ γάρ* as 'for they,' like *οἱ δέ*, i.e. the Athenians, but himself doubted it; there is no prose ex. of *οἱ* before *γάρ* as pronoun, and more important, it is very artificial to separate *δρῶντες*. I should like to refer this general statement, with the transl. given above, to the conduct of the Lac., so that the general sense is 'men of action (which you are not) take immediate steps, with their

minds made up before their opponents are resolved on their course.' The Athenians have not yet decided *on war*, and now is your time σκοπεῖν καθ' ὅ τι ἀμίνούμεθα. It is a case for τὸ προεπιβούλευεν, not τὸ ἀντεπιβούλευεν. I think that *οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι* in the next sentence strongly favours my suggestion, as we then get a proper antithesis.

12. οἴδα ὅδῷ . . καὶ θτὶ κατ' ὀλίγον—the two clauses after ἐπιστάμεθα are differently expressed: we should say rather, 'we know that the A. are encroaching on others and how they do it.' (The sentence is awkward: Cobet bracketed καὶ θτὶ. Possibly something is lost after Ἀθηναῖοι.)

15. οἱόμενοι—'while they think,' as they do at present. When they conclude that you know, but do not care, 'they will press on with determination,' and no longer κατ' ὀλίγον.

19. τῇ μελλήσει—'intentions' = τῷ μέλλειν ἀμίνασθαι.

21. διπλασιουμένην—see c. 123, 6; mind the *tense*. δύναμις is evidently a gloss on the unusual αὐξησις, for which, as applied to Athens, see c. 89, 1.

22. ἀσφαλεῖς—'sure,' though slow; cf. Soph. *O.T.* 617, cited in L. & S., φρονεῖν γάρ οἱ ταχεῖς οὐκ ἀσφαλεῖς. (In all other places in Thuc. ἀσφαλής = 'secure,' but that is no reason why it should not mean 'sure' here: he must have known of this meaning !)

ὅν = ἀλλ' ὑμῶν.

ὁ λόγος τοῦ ἔργου ἐκράτει—so ii. 42 οὐκ ἀν πολλοῖς . . λεύροπος . . ὁ λόγος τῷ ἔργῳ φανεῖη, 'there are but few cases in which report does not outweigh fact.' ὁ λόγος ὑμῶν = 'the report about you,' your reputation; cf. p. 52 l. 7.

24. ἐκ περάτων γῆς—proverbial of remote countries.

πρότερον ἥ with infin., a rare constn. except in Herod. Thuc., Antiphon.

25. τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν—'your forces.'

28. ἐπελθεῖν αὐτοῖς—together: so βούλεσθε μᾶλλον.

PAGE 60.

1. ἐσ τύχας κ.—'expose yourselves to the chances of war.'

2. δυνατωτέρους—sc. than they were.

3. περὶ αὐτῷ . . σφαλέντα—cf. vi. 33, 5 καν περὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τὰ πλειώ πταιώσιν: Aristoph. *Pax* 905 περὶ ταῖσι καμ-

παῖς . . πεπτωκότες: Soph. *Ajax* 828 πεπτῶτα τῷδε περι
νεορράντω ξίφει.

4. τὰ πλεῖον—sc. than through you.

5. ἡμᾶς—we, your allies. Thuc. is referring to the thirty years' truce, which was a set-back to Athens for the time being.

7. ὑμέτεραι—'in you,' of help from you.

8. καὶ ἀπαρασκεύουσι—*καὶ* is explained by its correspondence with διὰ τὸ πιστεῦσαι: because they had confidence in Sparta, they remained *also* (as a consequence) unprepared (E. Chambray).

9. ἔφθειραν—gnomic.

10. ἐπ' ἔχθρα τὸ πλέον η̄ αἰτίᾳ—'to show our enmity, but rather to complain.'

12. φίλων . . ἔχθρῶν—objective. *αἰτίᾳ* in this second sentence = τὸ ἐπ' αἰτίᾳ λέγειν, but *ἔχθρα* is not equivalent to τὸ ἐπ' ἔχθρα λέγειν, so Thuc. substitutes *κατηγορίᾳ*, which is. The habit of defining terms, common in Thuc., is, as Croiset remarks here, derived from Prodicus of Ceos, who gives a well-known specimen of his skill in this line in the *Protagoras*. Demosth. imitates this passage, *Androt.* 22.

ἀμαρτανόντων—milder than ἀμαρτόντων.

14. ἀξιοί—'have a right.'

16. ἄλλως τε καὶ—this clause must give a reason for the claim just made, and this can only be if *διαφέροντων* here = 'the interests' at stake, and not 'differences' between you and Athens. But *διαφέροντας* presently has the other sense.

20. ὑμῶν with *διαφέροντας*.

καὶ ως—*καὶ* is 'nay' or 'in fact.'

21. νεωτεροποιοί κτλ.—we have echoes of this famous comparison in Demosth.

22. ἐπινοήσται δέξεις—cf. Dem. *Ol.* 3, 15 γνῶναι πάντων ὑμεῖς δέξιτασι.

24. σώζειν—sc. δέξεις, sarcastic.

ἐπιγνῶναι—'adopt further measures' beyond a resolution to preserve what you have got.

οὐδὲ τάναγκαῖα—contrast *ἐπιγνῶναι μηδέν*. The last clause = *καὶ οὐκ δέξεις ἐστε ἔργῳ οὐδὲ τ. ἐξ*. By *τάναγκαῖα* he means 'what will just do.'

26. παρὰ γνώμην—*γνώμη* here and below prob. = 'judgment,

forethought': the A. are ever taking risks that their judgment forbids them to venture on; you hesitate to follow the sure indications of your judgment. There is an evident allusion to the favourite contrast between *γνώμη* and *τέχη*.

28. **εὐελπίδες**—in Ar. *Av.* Euelpides personifies the venturesome character of Athenians.

PAGE 61.

4. **καὶ μήν** in oratory draws attention to a new and striking point, 'then again.'

5. **ἐνδημοτάτους**—a marked trait in the Spartan character which was much modified by the Pel. War; though for a long time S. was deficient in vigour in the war.

7. **τῷ ἐπελθεῖν**—'aggression.' There is no need to read *ἐξελθεῖν*; cf. § 7, and the contrast is as old as the *Odyssey*; π 27 οὐ μὲν γάρ τι θάμ' ἀγρὸν ἐπέρχεαι . . | ἀλλ' ἐπιδημεύεις.

9. **ἔέρχονται . . ἀναπίπτουσιν**—explained (by Bonitz) as a metaphor from boxing: to follow up an advantage / to be forced back—*celerique elapsus vulnera cessit*, *Aen.* v. 445.

10. **τοὺς μὲν σώμασιν . . τῷ δὲ γνώμῃ**—the points of this rhetorical passage are two: (1) the A. give their lives just as much as the S. for their city, but the A. regard their lives as of little worth, while the S. devote themselves entirely to the care of the body as the most precious thing they can offer to their city; (2) the A. use their intelligence in the service of their city, and for that end they cultivate their minds, whereas the S. neglect them. Thuc. has obscured his meaning by introducing a contrast between *ἄλλοριάτας* 'not their own' (but of course belonging to their city) and *οἰκείότας* 'nearest and dearest to them.' The Spartans too gave their lives for their city, *but* they regarded them as *οἰκείότας*.

13. **ἀ μὲν ἀν—**i.e. when they do not carry out a new plan they have hit upon, they regard the failure as a *loss* of something that belongs to them.

15. **πρὸς τὰ μελλοντα**—'in comparison with what is to be done.'

16. **τυχεῖν πράξαντες**—'that in reality they have done,' a very common meaning of *τιγχάνω* with partic. : e.g. Plat. *Gorg.* p. 468 οἱόμενος ἀμεινον εἶναι, *τιγχάνει δὲ* ὅν κάκιον.

τοι καὶ πέιρα σ.—'if they fail too in anything they attempt.' *καὶ* (in ref. to *ἀν ἐπελθόντες κτήσωνται*) emphasises the *phrase*.

17. ἐπλήρωσαν—iterative.

18. μόνοι γάρ—possession and desire, ‘have’ and ‘hope’ overlap, so impetuous are these Athenians.

20. καὶ ταῦτα κτλ.—imitated by Demosth. *de Cor.* 203 (Athens) ἀγωνιζομένη περὶ πρωτείων καὶ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης κινδυνεύοντα πάντα τὸν αἰώνα διατετέλεκε. (A misuse of the poetical *αἰών* is that of Polus *τέχνη* ap. Plat. *Gorg. init.*) It is a fine stroke of style that at the end of the contrast here, the antithesis is dropped and Athens alone is spoken of.

24. ἔορτήν—predicate. It is not likely that there is any ref. here, as the Schol. who is followed by some edd. supposes, to the refusal of Sparta to set out for war during festivals. The passage is hyperbolical, and is spoiled by making it too precise. *μήτε* and *τε* correspond.

25. οὐχ ἡστον . . . ή=μᾶλλον ή.

PAGE 62.

1. ἔτιν—sc. ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν.

3. ταύτης—subject; *τοιαύτης πόλεως* pred., lit. ‘this (city) that is opposed to you being such a city.’

4. διαμέλλετε—‘persist in . . .’

5. οἴεσθε κτλ.—‘you think that peace lasts longest not for those who in using their forces confine themselves to what is right, but (none the less) by their resolution show that, if wronged, they will not put up with it: instead of that, you deal out fair treatment with the object of not annoying others and, where you defend yourselves, of avoiding harm to yourselves.’ (1) *τὸ ἴσον νέμετε* represents *δίκαια πράσσετε* with slight modification: ‘fair treatment to you means (a) not provoking others and (b) overlooking a wrong if you find that self-defence will entail suffering on you.’ (2) *ἐπιτρέπειν* as practised by Sparta is explained as an attempt *μὴ λυπεῖν τε . . . βλάπτεσθαι*. (All other explanations seem (1) to render *ἀμυνόμενοι μὴ β.* as if it were *μὴ ἀ. β.*, (2) to strain the meaning of *τὸ ἴσον νέμετε*: *νέμω* is not ‘control’ here; cf. p. 103 l. 25.

9. ἀλλ' ἐπὶ κτλ.—there is anacoluthon here, since strictly we ought to have ἀλλ' (*ἐκείνοις*) *οἱ ἄν . . νέμωσι* corresponding to *οὐ τούτοις κτλ.* But the change greatly heightens the effect.

11. μόλις δ' ἄν—even if A. were as conservative as you, it would be almost impossible *μὴ λυπεῖν τε ἄλλοις καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀμυνόμενοι μὴ βλάπτεσθαι*.

12. *νῦν δέ*—‘but in fact.’

14. *πρὸς αὐτούς*—‘as compared with theirs.’

ώσπερ κτλ.—full form: *ώσπερ τέχνης* (‘in an art’) *τὰ ἐπιγιγνόμενα* (‘what is new’) *κρατεῖν ἀνάγκη, οὕτω καὶ ἐπιτηδειμάτων κτλ.* *τέχνης* is *possessive*, with *τὰ* ē.

16. *τὰ ἀκίνητα νόμιμα*—alluding to the conservative *νόμιμα* of Lycurgus: *τάδε . . . κατέστησεν ὁ Λυκοῦργος ἐν τῇ Σπάρτη νόμιμα* Xen. *Lac. Pol.* 7, 1.

17. *πρὸς πολλὰ . . . λέναι*—‘those on whose resources there are many demands need constantly to think out new devices’; cf. *ἐπιτεχνᾶσθαι*, plan something *untried before*, Herod. ii. 2, 3; 119, 2.

20. *ἐπὶ πλέον ὑμῶν*—‘more than yours’; cf. l. 14.

μέχρι . . . τοῦδε ὥρισθω—cf. Aeschines 3, 24 *μέχρι τοῦδε εἰρῆσθω μοι* ‘so far and no farther,’ ‘let this be the limit of.’ Strictly we have a fusion of—

(1) ‘So far let your slowness have proceeded,’
 (2) ‘Here let your slowness end.’

Cf. on p. 69 l. 26.

22. *ὑπεδέξασθε*—see c. 58, 1.

26. *ἐτέραν*—i.e. *πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργείους*, says the Scholiast. Such an alliance was formed between Corinth and Argos in 421 B.C.

28. *πρός*—‘in the eyes of.’

29. *τῶν αἰσθανομένων*—‘intelligent men.’ The rendering ‘men who take notice of our actions’ does not suit the context. All Greece must ‘note’ an alliance formed by Corinth; not any special part of Greece; but *ἀνθρώπων τῶν αἰσθανομένων* could hardly mean *τῶν Ἑλλήνων* here. Those who look below the surface of things will not condemn Corinth. *αἰσθάνομαι* is abs., as in v. 26 *αἰσθανόμενος τῇ ἡλικίᾳ*. That this limitation of *ἀνθρώπων* does not stand in the same relation to the noun as *τῶν ὄρκίων* stands to *θεῶν* is not a valid objection in Thuc.

PAGE 63.

1. *ἐρημίαν*—‘isolation.’

ἄλλοις—in quest of an alliance.

2. *οἱ δὲ ξυνομόσωσι*—the parties to a *ξυμμαχία* have ‘the same friends and enemies’: hence the point.

3. *μενοῦμεν*—‘remain firm,’ pregnant sense fixed by *ὑμῶν*.

5. **ξυνηθεστέρους**—sc. ὑμῶν (not ὑμῶν προθύμων δυτῶν, as with οὐτε γάρ κτλ.).

7. **μὴ ἐλάσσω**—proleptic. ἔξηγοῦμαι of exercising ἡγεμονία in a league appears to take accus. or dat.

9. **τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἔτυχε γάρ**—cf. c. 115, 4; viii. 30. The gen. follows the constrn. of the clause immediately following, and this produces a confusion of constrn. between

οἱ δ' Ἀ. (ἔτυχον γάρ . . παροῦσα) ὡς ὕσθοντο and τῶν δ' Ἀ. ἔτυχε πρεσβεία παροῦσα καὶ ὡς ὕσθοντο.

The anacoluthon is lessened by deleting *kai*, but it is only a matter of degree.

13. **παριτητέα**—Thuc. alone among prose writers affects this use of the plur. neut. of the verbal adj.; cf. c. 79 etc.

14. **ἐγκλημάτων**—cf. c. 67, 4. The Athenians saw that their business was to answer the Corinthian's speech. See Intr. p. xxxv.

16. **δηλῶσαι δέ**—if this were expressed as strictly parallel to the *μέν* clause, we should have δηλώσοντας δέ.

17. **ἐν πλέονι**—of time, like *ἐν μέσῳ*, *ἐν δσῳ* etc.

24. **προσελθόντες**—to the ephors; contrast *παρελθόντες* below.

26. **εἰ τι μὴ ἀποκωλύοι**—this is the reading of the Laurentian, and its evidence in such a point outweighs all the other MSS. The confusion between the forms of indic. subj. and opt. is continually met with in MSS.; this passage does not stand on the same footing as vi. 21 where *εἰ ξυστῶσιν* is the only reading.

PAGE 64.

1. **ἀντιλογίαν τοῖς**—the dat. following the constrn. of ἀντιλέγω, as in ἐπίπλους τῆς Πελοποννήσου etc.

7. **οὐτε ἡμῶν οὐτε τούτων**—prob. to be taken with *οἱ λόγοι*. The emphasis is on δικαστᾶις: we are not in a court of law.

11. **τοῦ ἐστιν ἡμᾶς καθεστῶτος**—‘the general line of argument that is used against us.’

16. **ἀκοαὶ . . λόγων**—‘hearsay.’

18. **εἰ καὶ δι' ὅχλουν μᾶλλον ἔσται αἰεὶ προβαλλομένοις**—‘even if it will prove an annoyance to you to have them continually brought before you.’ *προβαλλομένοις*, sc. ὑμῖν, is personal pass., cf. c. 126, 11; 140, 1; the act. would be

προβάλλομεν ταῖτα ὑμῖν. (To supply *ὑμῖν*, as many edd. do, produces a sense inconsistent with what follows, esp. *τοῦ δὲ λόγου μὴ παντὸς στερισκώμεθα*. There is no need to read *προβάλλομενα* with Classen; and to place the comma after *ἔσται*, as I formerly proposed to do, is no improvement.)

21. **έκινδυνεύετο**—impersonal. 'It was to help the cause that we faced danger'—it was not *φιλονικία* (*νίκη*) that prompted us. *ἐπ'* *ώφελίᾳ* is intentionally vague, because the speaker is to emphasise the share that the Peloponnesians received; cf. c. 74, 3.

τοῦ ἔργου—'the reality') (*τοῦ λόγου* 'the mention of it,' 'reference to it,' when such reference is opportune for us.

24. **μαρτυρίου**—'evidence' (not 'protest').

25. **ὑμῖν** with *καταστήσεται*.

27. **προκινδυνεῦσται τῷ β.**—'stand forward,' 'bear the brunt of battle against,' as a *πρόμαχος*. Demosth. brings in *προκινδυνεύω* in the famous oath in *de Cor.* § 208 *μὰ τοὺς Μαραθῶνι προκινδυνεύσαντας κτλ.*: he probably had this passage in mind.

PAGE 65.

3. **ἀδυνάτων ἀν δυτῶν**—masc. = *οἱ* (sc. *οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι* from *τὴν Η.*) *ἀδύνατοι ἀν ἡσαν* (Mr. Forbes takes *ἀδυνάτων δυτῶν* as neut., like *πλωιμωτέρων δυτῶν* c. 7. *εἰσαγγελθέντων* c. 116—where see notes—as if we had *ἀδύνατον ἀν δυν*. This will not do).

6. **όμοιας**—sc. *καὶ* ('as') *πρὶν ναυμαχῆσαι* (not 'equal to the Greek').

8. **ἀνεχώρησεν**—cf. c. 118, 2.

τοιούτου κτλ.—cf. c. 71, 1.

9. **δηλωθέντος**—cf. c. 76, 2.

ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ . . ἐγένετο—cf. e.g. Soph. *O.T.* 314 *ἐν τοι γάρ ἐσμεν.*

13. **ξυνετώτατον**—again of Themistocles in c. 138; cf. vi. 39 *φημὶ . . βούλεῦσαι ἀν βέλτιστα τοὺς ξυνετούς.* *τὸ σινετὸν δὲ θεὸς δίδωσιν* says Euripides.

14. **ἐς τὰς τετρακοσίας**—'to make up the total of 400.' Herod. gives 378 as the total. Aeschylus (*Pers.* 339: 310; cf. Demosth. *de Cor.* § 238 *τετρακοσίων ούσῶν τῶν πασῶν, τὰς διακοσίας ἡ πόλις παρέσχετο.* Herod. also puts the number provided by Athens at 200. There is therefore an exaggeration here. (Some edd. read *τριακοσίας*.)

15. **τῶν δύο μοιρῶν**—in fractions when the denominator exceeds the numerator by 1, the larger number is omitted; cf. c. 10.

16. **αἰτιώτατος ναυμαχῆσαι**—instead of *τοῦ ν.*, as Antiphon v. 23 ἐγὼ αἴτιος ἦν πεμφθῆναι ἀγγελον. When the Peloponnesians in the fleet wanted to retreat to the Isthmus, Them. sent a false message to Xerxes to the effect that now was his chance to destroy the Greeks. The king then attacked the Greeks from the south. See on p. 121 l. 28.

17. **καὶ αὐτόν**—διὰ τοῦτο=δι' ὅ after δπερ: see c. 10, 3 (or αὐτο—see crit. note, 'you yourselves admitted how great a service he had rendered'). Cf. Herod. viii. 124 of the visit of Them. to Sparta, μοῦνον δὴ τοῦτον πάντων ἀνθρώπων . . Σπαρτιῆται προέπεμψαν.

18. **ἄνδρα** §.—'though . . . τῶν . . . ἐλθόντων with μάλιστα. Them. was presented with an olive wreath and a chariot at Sparta, and was escorted to the frontier by 300 mounted Spartans.

20. **οἱ γε**—*quippe qui.*

22. **δουλευόντων**—Greeks used δοῦλοι esp. of the subjects of the Great King.

24. **μῆδ** ὥσ—c. 44, 2.

PAGE 66.

2. **τούτου**—sc. τοῦ ὑφ' ὑμῶν ὀφελεῖσθαι. οὐχ ἡσσον . . η= . . μᾶλλον η.

ὑμεῖς μὲν γάρ—the ref. is to the tardy dispatch of the Spartan army under Pausanias to Boeotia in 479 B.C.

3. **ἀπό τε οἰκουμένων**—'from your cities that were undisturbed')(ἀπὸ τῆς οὐκ οὖσης ἔτι (πόλεως): ἐπὶ τῷ τὸ λοιπὸν ν., 'with the object of occupying them in the future')(ὑπὲρ τῆς . . οὖσης, 'which there was but little hope of recovering.' (Some following the Schol. see in πόλις a reference to the Athenian navy; this is only artificial and does not give a clear antithesis to ἐπὶ τῷ νέμεσθαι.)

9. **τὸ μέρος**—cf. c. 127, 2, like τὸ σὸν μέρος, τούμδν μέρος in tragedy. 'Did our part in rescuing you as well as ourselves.' The emphasis is on ὑμᾶς, and there is a contrast with ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ οὐχ ἡμῶν τὸ πλέον of l. 5.

11. **ώσπερ καὶ ἄλλοι**=ώσπερ καὶ ἄλλοι δεῖσαντες προσ., 'as others did.'

13. ὡς—‘regarding ourselves as.’
 οὐδὲν ἀν ἔδει ἔτι—because it would have been of no use.

15. καθ' ἡσυχίαν—‘without interference.’

17. ἀρα=nonne.

18. γνώμης—‘resolve.’ sc. τῆς τότε: the gen. is governed by Εὐνόσεως.

19. ἀρχῆς depends on ἐπιφθέντως διακεῖσθαι = φθορεῖσθαι.
 For the point see c. 96.

23. παραμένειν πρὸς τὰ ὑπόλοιπα τοῦ β.—‘remain at your post to attack what was left of the power of the Persians.’ See c. 95, 7; 96, 1; Herod. vii. 107.

26. ἔργου—the fact of accepting the ἴγεμονία.

27. ἐς τόδε—cf. c. 144, 4.

28. ὑπὸ δέους—fear of the Persians. τιμῆς—the honour enjoyed by Athens when she had once accepted the ἴγεμονία.
 ὀφελίας—‘interest.’

PAGE 67.

1. καὶ οὐκ ἀσφαλές takes up τὸ πρῶτον: when we had acquired this power it was necessary to guard it.

2. καὶ τινῶν κτλ.= καὶ ἔτει τινες καὶ ἀποστάντες ἡδη κατεστραμμένοι ἦσαν.

5. ὑπόπτων—there seems to be no advantage in rendering ‘suspicious’ here in preference to ‘suspected.’

6. πρὸς ὑμᾶς—i.e. now that you were no longer friendly to us, our allies would have taken to revolting to you.

8. τῶν μεγίστων πέρι κ.—‘when the greatest dangers are involved.’

εὖ τίθεσθαι—cf. c. 25, 1; ‘to manage well matters that are for their interest.’

9. ὑμεῖς γοῦν—an example of the principle just stated.

10. ἐπὶ . . καταστησάμενοι—referring to the oligarchies; see c. 19.

12. ἔπηγεισθε—governs τὰς πόλεις.

τότε—in the Persian War.

13. ἀπήχθησθε—‘had become unpopular’; cf. c. 75, 2.
 This is better than ἀπηχθεσθε, ‘had been hated.’

14. *εὐ λίσμεν μή*—*μή* generally with a verb expressing confident belief impressed on others.

15. *λυπηρούς*—‘severe.’

18. *ἀπὸ τοῦ*—like *ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος* Demosth. 24, 6.

19. *διδομένην*—‘when it was offered.’

21. *τριῶν*—cf. c. 74, 1, and so iii. 40. The conjecture is however scarcely certain, though elegant. See c. 75, 3.

24. *καθεστῶτος*—abs. like *δηλωθέντος* c. 74, 1 (not governed by *ὑπάρξαντες*), ‘it being established by precedent.’

25. *ἄξιοι τε*—the *τε* joins the clause to what precedes, and does not belong to the *καὶ* following.

26. *δοκοῦντες*—imperf.

μέχρι οὗ . . . νῦν = *μέχρι νῦν δτε* (Croiset): ‘when, while (really) thinking of expediency, you profess to argue from justice.’ So in Bk. v. in the Melian dialogue *τὸ ξυμφέρον* is opposed to *τὸ δίκαιον*, and cf. the Corcyrean speech. *ὁ δίκαιος* (*ἀδίκος*) *λόγος* = ‘the argument from justice (injustice)’; you tell us what we ought to do, but really think of your own interest.

PAGE 68.

1. *παρατυχόν*—‘when there was an opportunity’; to *προθεῖς* supply *τῆς λσχύος*.

2. *τοῦ μή*—cf. c. 10, 1.

4. *δικαιότεροι ή κατά*—cf. c. 37, 3.

6. *γένωνται* after *οἵτινες*: if this is the true reading—see crit. note—we have an instance of the epic and Ionic usage. See Goodwin *M.T.* § 540. The only other ex. of pure subj. with *δ*s in Thuc. is iv. 17 *οὐ μὲν βραχεῖς ἀρκῶσι*, which is thought to be from a gnomic poet.

γ' ἀν οὖν = *γοῦν ἀν*.

τὰ ἡμέτερα λαβόντας = *ει λαβον τὴν ἡμετέραν λσχύν*.

8. *ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιεικοῦς*—i.e. *ἐκ τοῦ μετριάζειν*.

11. *καὶ ἐλασσούμενοι γάρ*—an ex. to show how Athens got a bad name as the result of her moderation. ‘For though in suits arising out of contracts against our allies we are at a disadvantage and in our own city have instituted courts for these cases under equal laws (i.e. laws under which they and we are treated alike), we are considered litigious.’ *ξυμβόλαιαι δ.*

is probably from *ξυμβόλαιον*, a contract, and not from *ξύμβολον*, a treaty; *δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων* were suits arising out of international treaties; but (1) it is not clear that Athens had such *σύμβολα* with the *ἰπήκοοι*, and (2) it is most improbable that in all such suits an Athenian had to sue in the courts of the subject state. It is known that *δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων* were tried in the court of the defendant's state. If we assume that *δίκαι ἐμπορικαί*, commercial suits, which were tried in the state in which the contract was made, are referred to, the passage becomes clear. An Athenian litigant in the courts of the *ἰπήκοοι* is in an unfavourable position, whereas *ἰπήκοοι* in the courts at Athens are treated exactly like Athenians. Some think that *ποιήσαντες τὰς κρίσεις* refers to the compulsory jurisdiction at Athens in certain criminal cases, when a subject ally was involved. But even when *both* parties were *ἰπήκοοι* such cases were tried at Athens, whereas Thuc. is speaking only of cases in which one party was an Athenian: so supply *ἐν ταῖς . . . δίκαιαις* in the second clause. In these latter cases the allies considered that they were badly treated. ([Xen.] *Ath. Pol.* i. 16 *τοῖς μὲν τοῦ δῆμου σώζονται, τοὺς δ' ἐναντίους ἀπολλέονται ἐν τοῖς δικαιστηρίοις.* On the difficulties surrounding the judicial arrangements of the Athenian League see Holm, *Hist. of Greece* ii. 217, Engl. Transl.)

13. *όροις*—contrast with *ἐλασσούμενοι*. *κρίσις ποιεῖν* = institute a trial.

18. *διότι*—‘why.’ The reason why others in our position do not go to law is that they use force. Mr. Forbes points out that the Persians, Scythians, and Carthaginians are instanced as ruling powers by Socrates in Xen. *Mem.* i. i. 11.

19. *οἱ δέ*—‘but they.’

21. *παρὰ τὸ μὴ οἰεσθαι χρήναται*—*μὴ* with *χ.*, ‘contrary to their opinion that it is wrong’ that they should be deprived.

ἢ γνώμῃ ἢ κτλ.—‘either by a decision (in our courts) or through the power we enjoy on account of our Empire.’ This passage refers not only to defeats of allies in the Athenian courts, but to curtailments of their rights (*δινάμει κτλ.*).

24. *τοῦ ἐνδεούς*—‘at their (slight) inferiority.’ The gen. after *χαλεπῶς φέρειν* as in ii. 62, 3 probably, unless *στερισκόμενοι* is to be supplied.

25. *ἀπὸ πρώτης*—cf. c. 15, 3. Perhaps *όρμης* or *ἀρχῆς* originally completed the phrase.

τὸν νόμον—‘law’ in general.

3. **βιαζόμενοι**—pass. as often in Thuc. and trag.

τὸ μὲν κτλ.—‘the one (*τὸ ἀδικεῖσθαι*) seems to be an act of over-reaching where both are equal, the other an act of compulsion where one is stronger.’ The infns. are impersonal. *ἴστοι* and *κρείσσονος* are neut.

8. **εἰκότως** belongs only to *ἡ δὲ ἡμετέρα κτλ.*, and is added as an afterthought, the general sense being: ‘It is *inconsistent* that they should chafe at our empire when they endured worse from the Persians, but it is *not strange*; for’ etc. The Persian power too was *βαρύ*, but they had to put up with that.

9. **γ' ἀν οὖν**—c. 76, 4.

10. **ἀρξατε**—ingressive, ‘gain an empire.’

11. **εὐνοιαν**—‘good-will,’ which at present they enjoyed as professed “liberators” (ii. 9, 4).

ἡμέτερον—c. 33, 3.

12. **οἷα . . ὄμοια**—‘measures like those of which you gave some examples.’ *δι’ δλίγου*, ‘for a short time.’ For the conduct of the Spartans as leaders, esp. for the hatred excited by Pausanias, see cc. 94 f.

14. **γνώσεσθε**—‘are going to adopt.’

15. **ἀμεικτα . . τοῖς ἄλλοις**—i.e. *τοῖς τῶν ἄλλων ν.* For *νόμιμα* see c. 71, 5.

17. **ἔξιών**—‘when he goes abroad.’ Xen. *Lac. Pol.* also speaks of the change for the worse in the Spartan when he left home to assume a command.

οἷς with *νομίζει* = *χρῆται*, an Ionic use.

19. **οὐ βραχέων**—‘no trifling matters.’

22. **πρόσθησθε**—‘assume,’ ‘take upon yourselves,’ cf. c. 144, 1. 4; Eur. *Her.* 146 *ἴδια προσθέσθαι κακά*.

24. **φιλεῖ ἐσ τύχας . . περιστασθαι**—‘is wont to turn out at last a series of chances, from which we (you and we) are equally remote’ (i.e. we cannot see into them).

26. **ἐν ἀδήλῳ κ.**—‘depends on what is hidden.’ The ordinary phrase would be *ἐν ἀδήλῳ ἐστί*, and so we have a compression of *ἐν ἀ. ἐστὶ καὶ κινδυνεύεται*. For this kind of expression cf. vii. 77 *ἐν κινδύνῳ αἰωροῦμαι*.

28. **τῶν ἔργων**—without stopping to think: as Thuc. says elsewhere, at the beginning of a war, men are impulsive. **ἔχοντας** is equivalent to **ἀπτοντας**.

ἀ χρῆν **ὕστερον δρᾶν**—if ἀ is right (and the Schol. as well as all MSS. has it), we cannot render ἀ 'a thing which,' but must make **τῶν ἔργων** antecedent: nor is there any objection to this except that Thuc. regularly uses **δρᾶν** (αὐτό or αὐτά) differently; see c. 5, 2: but **δρῶ τὰ ἔργα** is good Greek, e.g. **συννοίᾳ θ' ἄμα οἷον δέδρακεν ἔργον** Eur. *And.* 806.

29. **ἡδη**—'only when,' with **κακοπαθοῦντες**.

PAGE 70.

2. **ὅντες οὖτ' αὐτοῖς**—strictly this should have been **οὖτ' αὐτοὶ** **ὅντες**.

3. **λέγομεν οὐ**—'we charge you.'

αὐθαίρετος—i.e. not forced on us by circumstances.

6. **λίεσθαι**—cf. c. 140, 2 τὰ ἐγκλήματα διαλιεσθαι.

ἔννθηκην—in the thirty years' truce.

8. **ἀρχοντας**—c. 49, 4.

ταύτη οὐ ἀν ὑφηγήσθε—'following just wherever you may lead.'

14. **πάντας**—sc. **τοὺς ξυμμάχους καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους**.

16. **ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ . . ἔφερον**—'led to the same conclusion.'

17. **ἀδικεῖν**—'were guilty.'

24. **όρῶ**—sc. **πολλῶν π. ἐμπείρους δυτας**.

25. **τοῦ ἔργου**—'the thing,' i.e. war.

26. **οἱ πολλοί**—in contrast with Archidamus and the elderly Spartans.

27. **νομίσαντα**—parallel to **ἀπειρίᾳ**.

PAGE 71.

2. **Πελοποννησίους καὶ τοὺς ἄ.**—i.e. our allies in Peloponnesian and neighbours (who are not allies), esp. Argos. (Some see a hendiadys here, but it is unnecessary.)

3. **παρόμοιος**—'a match for'; cf. **ἀντίπαλος**.

5. **ἐφ' ἔκαστα**—we can strike at any point promptly.

9. *Ὕπποις καὶ ὅπλοις καὶ ὅχλῳ*—the transl. ‘cavalry and hoplites and light-armed troops’ is possible (cf. e.g. Xen. *Anab.* III. ii, 36); but the simple rendering (*ὅχλῳ*=population) is borne out by *τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ τῷ πλήθει*, c. 81, 1.

12. *φόρου ὑποτελεῖς*—contrast c. 19, 1.

13. *τίνι*—neut.

17. *Ἐνεσταὶ*=*μεταξὺ γενήσεται* (Croiset).

ἀλλὰ *τοῖς χ.*—ἀλλά in rhetorical altercation, as often (e.g. vi. 38, 5), ‘well then.’

18. *ἐν κοινῷ*—‘the treasury.’ The want of money at Sparta previous to Lysander’s conquests is well-known. After the Pel. War there was a great change; but the money then acquired found its way into private hands, not into the treasury.

19. *έτοιμως*—‘easily.’ (The Spartans had not yet become conspicuous for covetousness, as after the war.)

20. *φέρομεν*—as an *εἰσφορά*.

21. *τῷ πλήθει*—the king includes the population of the confederate states. It is true that Sparta could pour a far greater number of troops into Attica than Athens could into the Peloponnese.

22. *ἐπιφοιτῶντες*—‘by repeated incursions.’ This was the method adopted, and this is probably written after the event.

26. *τίς*=*ποῖος*.

PAGE 72.

1. *κάν τούτῳ*—‘in that case.

2. *καλόν*—sc. *ἡμῖν*. In *καταλύεσθαι* the mid. denotes reciprocity, as in *σπένδεσθαι*.

3. *μᾶλλον*—sc. *ἢ ἀναγκασθῆναι πολεμεῖν*.

7. *οὔτως*—*adeo*.

8. *φρονήματι*—‘pride,’ ‘high spirit.’

τῇ γῇ δουλεῦσαι—‘slaves to their land,’ so that they will not endure to see it ravaged, but will resist vigorously. Cf. Archidamus to the same effect in ii. 11, 6-8.

11. *οὐ μὴν οὐδέ*—c. 3, 3.

ἀναισθήτως—with *ἔάν*; a reply to the Corinthians; see c. 69, 3.

14. καταφωρᾶν—properly 'catch (a criminal) in the act'; hence 'detect,' 'discover.'

16. δηλοῦντας with πόλεμον implying a threat, and ὡς ἔπιτρέψομεν 'for which cf. e. 71, 1)' implying an admission; properly 'explaining'; cf. e. 129, 1.

17. τὰ ἡμέτερ' αὐτῶν—'our own resources,' both ξυμάχων προσαγωγῆ and τῷ τὰ αἰτῶν ἄμα ἐκπορίζεσθαι. The *kai* clause takes a new constn. after the long parenthesis. (Croiset thinks that τὰ ἡμέτερ' αὐτῶν mean, 'our *home* resources' only, and that τὰ ἡμέτερ' αὐτῶν ἔξαρτεσθαι is answered by τὰ αὐτῶν (sic) ἄνα εἰκ. which refers to the resources of the ξυμαχοι. But τε after ξυμάχων is much against this; and why should τὰ ἡμέτερ' αὐτῶν be limited by ξυμάχων προσαγωγῆ?)

19. καὶ Βαρβάρων—efforts by Sparta (and perhaps Athens) to obtain the support of Persia are already heard of in the early part of the war.

22. ἐπιβουλευόμεθα—by attraction to the ὥσπερ-clause.

24. τὰ αὐτῶν = τὰ ἡμέτερα αὐτῶν, 'our own' as distinct from those of our ξυμαχοι. This is awkward after τὰ ἡμέτερ' αἰτῶν above in a wider sense, and the use of αἰτῶν, otherwise common, for ἡμέτερ' αἰτῶν does not occur elsewhere in Thuc. Hence αὐτοῦ (adv.) and αἰτόθεν have been proposed.

26. ἔτῶν δύο καὶ τριῶν—cf. δὶς καὶ τρίς, δύο καὶ τρία θήματα: καὶ ('even') δὶς καὶ τρίς (see crit. note) etc. is also used.

PAGE 73.

1. ήδη with what follows: when they see that while negotiating we are preparing quietly for war and maintaining a firm tone.

6. μή γάρ ἄλλο τι—Archidamus argues against invading Attica at once, that as long as it is unravaged it is a hostage for the conciliatory behaviour of Athens in the negotiations: when once it is wasted, they will know that they have nothing to lose.

7. έχειν (sc. ἔμας), by an idiom common in Thuc. = εἴραι ἔμαν.

οὐχ ἡσσον—'the more so.' The cultivation of the poor soil of Attica was necessarily carried on with great care.

12. ὄράτε δπῶς μή—the result may be trouble for the confederacy (τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ). There is much difference of opinion about the transl. : Classen says, 'see that it do not turn out for us as regards Pel. in a more disgraceful and difficult

fashion'; Krüger and others, 'see that we may not bring about a more disgraceful and difficult state of things for Pel.'—making *πράξομεν* trans. and *αἰσχιον* καὶ ἀ. adjj.: so Sieup, but he renders, 'see that we do not do (something) too disgraceful and awkward for Pel.' Some think that η τῇ Ἀττικῇ is to be supplied to the comparatives, others—but wrongly—η νῦν. I construe 'see that we do not fare in a manner more humiliating and difficult for the confederacy,' sc. than if we refrain from invading Attica now, spurred on by these accusations. These ἔγκλήματα against Athens, it may be said, if we do not take up the cudgels (see next sentence), may involve *αἰσχύνη* and *ἀπορία* to the confederacy; but they can be disposed of by negotiation. To go to war at once may involve us in worse difficulties.

16. *ἰδίων*—'separate,' or 'individual,' thinking of Corinth and Megara. .

18. *εὐπρεπῶς*—contrasted with *αἰσχρῶς* καὶ ἀπόρως *πράξομεν*.

Θέσθαι—cf. c. 25, 1.

22. *χρήματα φέροντες*—'and they contribute money.' The Lac. allies paid no tribute.

23. *διπλῶν*—'is a matter of,' 'calls for.' Krüger compares e.g. Demosth. *de Cor.* § 190 ην ἐκεῖνος ὁ καιρὸς τοῦ γε φροντίζοντος ἀνδρός. The gen. is one of description.

24. *ῳφελεῖ*—'are of avail.' The dat. with *ῳφελεῖ* is not very rare in poetry (see Jebb on Soph. *Ant.* 560), but ηπειρώταις here belongs to *ἴστι* as much as to δι' ην, etc., 'especially in the case of a land power fighting against a naval power.' Different explanations have been put forward of the meaning: some suppose Archidamus to allude to the necessity of obtaining a fleet (see c. 81, 4), others think that the allusion is to the equipment of large armies to remain in the field; but this is against the general argument of the speech. In *θαλασσοῖς* is included the idea of tribute-paying subjects: the Lac. have no fleet and no subject allies bound to pay for one. (This is a succinct restatement of cc. 81, 4, 82, 1. Archidamus rightly sees that success in a war with Athens depends on getting control of the sea. You cannot conquer a sea power on land, cf. c. 121, esp. 4 and 5, and c. 81, 1, 2. The two things needful to give success to the Pel. are *δαπάνη* and *μελετή*.)

28. *τῶν ἀποβαίνοντων* depends on *τῆς αἰτίας*, 'the greater share of responsibility for the consequences.'

ἐπ' ἀμφότερα—i.e. for good or ill (καὶ εὐκλείας καὶ δυσκλείας says the Schol. on ii. 11 δόξαν οἰστόμενοι ἐπ' ἀμφότερα).

PAGE 74.

1. **τι αὐτῶν**—i.e. **τῶν ἀποβαῖνόντων**, 'let us take some thought of them beforehand.'

τὸ βραδὺ καὶ μέλλον—referred to in **τοῦτο** and **αὐτό** below; **μέλλον** is only another name for **βραδύ**.

2. **ἡμῶν** depends on **δ.**

4. **παύσασθε**—'reach the end.' If we begin in a hurry, we shall not be properly prepared, and the war will be prolonged.

5. **καὶ ἄμα**—the meaning is 'we have always been free and famous, so our **βραδύτης** has served us well.' This leads naturally to the reflexion that the so-called **βραδύτης** is really **σωφροσύνη**.

7. **δύναται . . . εἶναι**—when **δύναται** = 'means' we do not find **εἶναι**: **δύναται μάλιστα εἶναι** = literally 'can be on the whole,' i.e. 'may be called.' **τοῦτο** is emphatic, 'it is just this that.' **ξύφρων** too is emphatic; hence its position; and the etymological jingle **σωφροσύνη ξυφρών** is equivalent to 'true prudence.' For **σωφροσύνη** cf. c. 68, 1, to which this is a retort.

10. **τῶν . . . ἔξοτρυνόντων** depends as objective gen. on **ἡδονὴ**. There must be here a side ref. to the increasing influence of oratory in the Athenian ecclesia—**ἔπαιος**, **ἡδονὴ** (produced by rhetoric), **κατηγορία** all show it. The whole of this paragraph is an independent criticism of Athens as well as an answer to the contrast drawn by the Corinthians.

ξὺν ἔπαινῳ—**ξὺν** of the *means* is very rare (cf. § 3 and c. 141 **ξὺν φόβῳ**), but occurs sometimes in Xen., as well as in poetry.

11. **ἐπὶ τὰ δεινά**—cf. c. 70, 2.

13. **ξὺν κατηγορίᾳ**—like the Corinthian speech.

14. **ἀνεπεισθημεν**—for the aorist cf. c. 70, 7.

15. **τὸ μέν**—i.e. **πολεμικοί**. The meaning is 'we are brave because we have a keen sense of honour, and we have a keen sense of honour because we are moderate.' But Thuc. proceeds in the opposite direction, and says, 'The chief element in moderation (**σωφροσύνη** substituted for **τὸ εὔκοσμον**) is honour, and the main ingredient in the sense of honour (**αισχύνη = αἰδώς**) is bravery.' Cf. iii. 83 **τὸ εὐηθεῖς**, οὐ **τὸ γενναιῶν πλεῖστον μετέχει**.

17. ἀμαθέστερον . . παιδευόμενοι—*causal* partic., ‘not so highly as to despise the laws’; see c. 68, 1, but a different turn is given to ἀμαθία here in the retort.

18. καὶ ξὺν χ. —sc. παιδευόμενοι, which is again to be supplied to the following infinitives.

20. τὰ ἀχρεῖα—thinking on public policy for one’s self, for instance, and putting before the assembly what you have thought of.

22. ἀνομολας—not so well as the fine criticism would lead one to expect.

ἐπεξένται—sc. αὐτοῖς, i.e. τοῖς πολεμίοις (Stahl).

23. παραπλησίους—as good as ours.

24. τὰς προσπιπτούσας . . διαιρετάς—‘the chances that befall cannot be determined by argument.’ The general sense is ‘just as we do not despise the intelligence of our enemy, so we know that we cannot see into the future—how war will go—but must depend on our εὐψυχία and σωφροσύνη in preparing.’ διαιρεῖν is properly ‘to make a gap in.’

26. παρασκευαζόμεθα—see crit. note: *alei* favours the indic., καὶ . . δεῖ the subjunc. But an exhortation here would come in very awkwardly before c. 85, where the peroration begins; and Steup, reading παρασκευαζώμεθα, thinks this whole section (§ 4) properly follows c. 85 § 1.

PAGE 75.

4. ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις—‘in the most rigorous discipline’; cf. ξὺν χαλεπότητι παιδευόμενοι above. (The rendering of Bonitz, ‘trained (only) in what is indispensable,’ as distinct from the *useless wisdom* of the Athenians seems to take us far beyond anything that Archidamus has said on the small extent of Spartan education, and a limitation—‘only’—does not fit in well with the context.)

12. βουλεύσωμεν—‘come to a decision.’

13. διὰ ισχύν—i.e. we need be in no hurry, because the Athenians, knowing our strength and that we are not overlooking what they have done (cf. c. 69, 3), will not dare to take any further step against us in the meantime.

18. πρότερον—before you too consent to arbitration.

20. κράτιστα—this and φοβερώτατα are pred. to ταῦτα (Clasen). If Thuc. means καὶ τοῖς ἐν. φοβερώτατα to explain

κράτιστα, the first *kai* must be omitted (see crit. note). The double *kai* makes two ideas.

PAGE 76.

2. *καὶ τοι*—‘yet surely,’ a common use.
6. *καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν*—*ῆμεν* is implied after *τότε*. The same form of sentence occurs in iii. 40, 2 and vi. 60, 2. But in Plat. *Gorg.* p. 488 B we have ἀλλὰ ταῦτα Ἐλεγον καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν λέγω (*Ἐλεγον* del. Schanz).
11. *παραδοτέα*—for the plur. see c. 72, 2.
12. *οὐδὲ δίκαιος κτλ.*—‘nor must we decide by arbitration and words where we are ourselves being injured not in word.’ *μή* is caused by the prohibition of which the whole clause consists.
24. *Ἐφόρος ὄν*—‘in his capacity as ephor.’
25. *ἐς τὴν ἐ.*—after *ἐπεψήφισεν*.
26. *κρίνουσι*—decide in the assembly.

PAGE 77.

3. *ὅτῳ μέν*—the method of taking the division adopted seems to be introduced for this special occasion.
8. *ἐγένοντο*—‘amounted to.’
12. *ψῆφον ἐπαγαγεῖν*—‘put the vote to them.’
13. *κοινῇ βουλευσάμενοι*—‘arrive at a common decision before . .’
18. *τοῦ τὰς σπονδὰς λ.*—the gen. of definition. Some edd. think these words spurious.
- ÉGÉNETO . . πΡΟΚΕΧΩΡΗΚΥΛΛΗ—lit. ‘took place in the fourteenth year of the thirty years’ truce when it had lasted (so long, sc. ἐς τοσοῦτον),’ i.e. in the fourteenth year of its course.
21. *τὰ Εὐθοϊκά*—see c. 23, 4 and 114.

PAGE 78.

1. *οἱ γάρ*—now begins the so-called *πεντηκονταετία*, or sketch of the growth of Athenian power in the half century between the battle of Mycale (479 B.C.) and the beginning of the war (431 B.C.). This sketch continues to c. 118, 2; and

it consists of two parts: (1) to c. 96—how they obtained the leadership (*ἡγεμονία*)—or, as he says here, *ἡλθον ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα* *ἐν οἷς ηὐξήθησαν*; (2) to c. 118—how the leadership was transformed into an empire—*ἐν οἷς τρόπῳ κατέστη* (*ἡ ἀρχή*), c. 97, 2.

4. **ναυσι**—Salamis (480). **πεζῷ**—Plataea (479).

7. **διεφθάρησαν**—by Leotychides, the Spartan king, and Xanthippus, father of Pericles.

11. **οἱ . . ξύμμαχοι**—probably there was no formal treaty, but *ξύμμαχοι* is used because they were fighting side by side with the Athenians. (There is no need to remove *ξύμμαχοι* with Wilamowitz.)

14. **ἐπιχειμάσαντες**—the winter of 479–478 B.C. The history of Herodotus ends with the fall of Sestos.

19. **εὐθύς**—in autumn of 479.

δθεν = *έκειθεν* *οἱ*. Cf. Soph. *Trach.* 701 *ἐκ δὲ γῆς δθεν* | *προύκειτ'*, *ἀναζέουσι*, 'from the earth *where* it was strewn, for *ὅπου*'. The omission of antecedent before *δθεν* is not very rare; e.g. ii. 94 *τροπαῖον* *ἔστησαν δθεν* *ἀναγαγόμενοι* *ἐκράτησαν*, for *ἐνταῦθα δθεν*. The places are Salamis, Troezen and Aegina.

21. **κατασκευήν**—'stock, goods,' of all kinds.

22. **ἀνοικοδομεῖν**—in the autumn of 479.

24. **βραχέα**—'only a small remnant,' of the wall round the city left by the Persians.

PAGE 79.

1. **ἡλθον πρεσβείᾳ** = *ἐπρεσβεύσαντο*, the *sociative* dat. as in naval and military expressions; but there is no other example of this phrase and hence the variant readings.

τὰ μὲν κτλ.—'partly because' etc. **μήτε** not **οὔτε** because apprehension is implied.

5. **τὸ πλῆθος** **ὅ**—see c. 14, 2.

6. **γενομένην**—for the order see c. 11, 3.

8. **εἰστήκει**—sc. **τείχη**.

9. **τὸ βουλόμενον** (= *τὴν βούλησιν*) **καὶ** **ὑποπτον**—see c. 36, 1. *ἐσ τοὺς Ἀ.* certainly belongs to *δηλοῦντες* and means before the assembly. For *δηλοῦν* in this use cf. c. 82, 1.

11. **ώς δὲ τοῦ β.**—'but on the ground that,' still depending on *ἡξιουν*.

13. ἀπὸ ἔχυροῦ ποθεν . . ὀρμᾶσθαι—‘to use any stronghold as a base of operations.’ *ποθεν* by attraction for *ποτ.*

νῦν—‘lately.’ Herod. ix. 13 fol. tells us how the Persian general Mardonius made Thebes his headquarters.

15. ἀναχώρησίν τε καὶ ἀφορμήν—‘as a place to retreat to or advance from,’ abstract for concrete.

24. ἵκανδν ἀρωσιν—for the pred. adj. cf. ii. 75 ὕρετο τὸ ὑψος τοῦ τείχους μέγα. The aor. (see crit. note) is necessary: the pres. would mean ‘so long as.’

25. ἀναγκαιοτάτου—cf. c. 2, 2.

πάντας—on this the Schol. notes *αἴτοις καὶ γυναικαῖς καὶ παιδαῖς*. It is therefore evident that he did not find these words in the text. Mr. Forbes defends the words as ‘foreible,’ and adds that the note may only mean that the words *καὶ . . παιδαῖς* in the text themselves explain *πάντας*. Steup finds something wrong with their ‘force,’ rightly saying that *καὶ οἰκέτας* is missing after *παιδαῖς*: e.g. Diodorus xi. 40 says *συνελαμβάνοντο τῶν ἔργων οἱ τε παιδαῖς καὶ αἱ γυναικεῖς καὶ καθόλον πᾶς ξένος καὶ δοῦλος*: but the details of his account are not drawn wholly from Thuc. The second point raised in defence is not borne out by the scholia to Thuc.

26. τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει—cf. c. 64, 2: in contrast with those away from Attica.

PAGE 80.

3. τὰλλα . . τάκει—‘the rest, namely what was to be done there’: an intentionally vague and mysterious suggestion of cunning, both being object of *πράξαι*. The order throws emphasis on both. The Athenians like such oracular remarks from those whom they regarded as *ξενετοί*: this style reflected the manner of the Delphic oracle, the gnomic poets, the sages and early philosophers.

6. ἀρχάς—‘magistrates.’

11. ὡς—for *ὅπως*, ‘how’ (not ‘that’).

13. διὰ φιλίαν αὐτοῦ—*αὐτοῦ* objective: the reason of this favour was, no doubt, that Them. was regarded at Sparta as a protector from the Persians: they owed him gratitude for the Athenian fleet; cf. c. 74, 1.

τῶν δὲ ἄλλων κτλ.—Classen makes *ἀφικονισέντων* substantival; and renders *καὶ σαφῶς* ‘quite positively’ (*ἐπεὶ οἱ*

ἄλλοι ἀφικνούμενοι, 'visitors'—'arrivals,' as they say—*καὶ σαφῶς κατηγόρουν*). The contrast to this subject will then be σφῶν αὐτῶν ἄνδρας below. Others render '(all) the other (visitors) arriving and announcing.' In either case there is probably an allusion to *τῶν ξυμμάχων ἔξοτρυνόντων* c. 90, 1 in *τῶν δὲ ἄλλων*: these 'others' were persons afraid of Athens.

15. *τειχίζεται*—sc. *τὸ τεῖχος*.

18. *οὔτινες χρηστοί*—parts of *εἰμί* are often omitted in short rel. sentences.

24. *ἔπειν*—'were come.'

29. *ἐπεστάλη*—impersonal.

PAGE 81.

1. *τοῖς Δακεδαιμονίοις*—i.e. *ταῖς ἀρχαῖς* (c. 90, 5).

4. *εἰ δέ τι κτλ.*—a claim to complete recognition as an equal. *τι* = 'in regard to any matter:' *ὡς πρὸς κτλ.* lit. 'to go in future as to men who could discern both their own interests and the common interests of the Greeks.' *ἴέναι* depends on *εἰπεν* in sense of *ἐκέλευσεν*: *ὡς πρὸς δ.* is placed early so as to make it emphatic, and the emphasis must be marked in translating. There is no reason for interfering with the text here: *προδ-* (see crit. note) is only a slip for *πρὸς δ.*

10. *ἴφασαν*—sc. the Athenian ambassadors.

11. *βουλεύεσθαι*—the attraction of the verb of short rel. sentences in *O.O.* into infinitive is less rare in Gk. than in Lat.: Thuc. has several examples, e.g. ii. 102 *λέγεται . . ὅτε δὴ ἀλλάσθαι*. This sentence stands as accus. of respect to *οὐδενὸς κτλ.*

14. *καὶ ιδίᾳ κτλ.*—'and for the Athenians themselves and with a view to (the interests of) the allies in general it would be beneficial.' The position of the allies would be secure in the general council if Athens was strong. (This passage has been much discussed: (1) Classen takes *τοῖς πολίταις* with *ἐσ* *τοῖς π. ξυμμάχοις* also, and understands, 'would be of more advantage to the Athenians (both) separately and with regard to their relations with the allies.' But it is rightly objected that the advantage of the fortification cannot be limited to the Athenians, who want to prove that it is good for the allies too (cf. c. 91, 4 *τὰ κοινά*). Steup deletes *ἀμεινον* *είναι*, and is thus able to transl. the *καὶ ιδίᾳ κτλ.* 'both for the A. themselves and

for the allies.' But there is no decisive objection to the text as it stands. It is true that we expect *ιδια τε* or *καὶ* ('both') *ιδια* : cf. *τὰ τε σφίσιν αὐτοῖς . . καὶ τὰ κοινά* : but the omission and the unusual *ἐς τοὺς* instead of dative serve to make the allusion to 'the allies' a climax ; *καὶ* = 'and in fact.'

15. **ἀφελιμώτερον ξεσθαι**—the argument is that this, like the earlier actions of Athens, was done *ἐπί* **ἀφελιγ**, not only for Athens but for the Greek allies in general. Cf. e. 73, 2.

οὐ γάρ—this alludes to all the allies quite as much as to Athens : they would feel that the right to strengthen themselves was vindicated by Athens, thus all would be on an equal footing in the common council and their views would be equally respected.

18. **Ἐφη**—Themistocles.

22. **γνώμης παρανέσει**—sc. *ἐπί*, 'to recommend a resolution to the Athenian assembly.' i.e. to give advice. **τῷ κοινῷ** depends on **παρανέσει**. **δῆθεν** is of course ironical.

25. **τὰ μάλιστα**—best taken with *ἐν τῷ τότε*, 'at that time more than at any other.'

PAGE 82.

4. **οἱ γὰρ θεμέλιοι**—the upper part of the wall was of brick (**πλίνθοι**), but there was a lower course of stone. Cf. Demosth. *de Cor.* § 299 *οὐ λίθοις ἐτείχισα τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲ πλίνθοις ἐγώ*.

5. **ξυνεργασμένων**—'shaped for fitting together.'

6. **στῆλαι**—fragments of some of these belonging to the walls of Themistocles have been found. Hicks, *Man.* p. 13.

8. **πανταχῆ**—the extension did not include the SW. side of the city. For *μείζων* cf. e. 90, 3.

10. **κινοῦντες ἡπείγοντο**—'disturbed in their haste' : **κινεῖν** is specially used of things that should not be interfered with.

12. **ὑπῆρκτο δ' αὐτοῦ**—'a beginning had been made on it' ; *αὐτοῦ* is neut. = 'the work.'

13. **ἐπὶ τῆς . . ἥρξε**—'during his office of archon, which he had held for a year at Athens.' It is not necessary to understand by *κατ'* *ἐνιαυτόν* 'annually.' which complicates the grammar of the sentence. *κατά*, with words denoting time,

is not always distributive. The year is now thought to be 482 B.C.

15. λιμένας—Piraeus, Zea, Munychia.

16. καὶ αὐτούς—‘and that the A., having once become a naval people, were in a very advantageous position for the acquisition of power.’ (Classen understands *προφέρειν* as fut. in sense.)

18. τῆς γὰρ δῆ—as often, there is an ellipse here; in full the sense is ‘he naturally thought of this, for,’ etc.

19. τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθὺς ξυγκατεσκεύαζεν—‘at once began to help them to lay the foundation of their empire.’ This seems, on the whole, better than the version preferred by Classen and others, ‘prepared to *begin* (*ἀρχήν*) the building,’ in which *ξυν-* is left obscure, and is, in fact, variously explained; and *ἀρχήν* (cf. c. 96, 2) is strange for *ἔργον*. The allusion is to the whole period after Salamis.

21. νῦν ἔτι—generally supposed to have been written after the destruction of the walls of Piraeus by Lysander in 404 B.C. There is, however, no certainty in the matter; cf. § 2.

22. δύο γὰρ ἀμαξαι—this is supposed to mean that wagons *in two rows* drawing up stones from opposite ends met and passed one another *on the wall* (Classen); or, much better—because the idea of Classen could not possibly be carried out in building—the wagons worked from *one* end up an incline, and after discharging their load turned and passed the laden wagons still coming along the wall. (So already Procopius.) It is almost incredible, however, that Thuc. should have intended this Greek to represent (1) *two rows* of wagons (2) passing *along the wall*, and (3) the one set returning *empty*. But I have no other explanation to offer. Some suppose that two wagons worked on the level and deposited stones ready for the building on either side; perhaps this does prove *τὸ πάχος τοῦ τελχοῦ*.

24. ἐντὸς δέ—i.e. the inside was not filled with clay and small stones, but large blocks were cut and fitted and fastened together on the outside by iron clamps.

25. ἐντομῆ—‘by cutting *into* them,’ so that the ends could fit together and overlap. This is much better than *ἐν τομῇ*, which cannot = ‘at the ends.’

28. οὐ διενοεῖτο—i.e. *ἐκείνου* δ *διενοεῖτο τελεῖν*.

PAGE 83.

1. ἐπιβουλάς—an ἐπιβουλή would lead to an ἐπιβολή: Thuc. as often gives to the cause the meaning of its effect: there is no need to alter the text, despite the gloss in the Schol.

2. ἀχρειοτάτων—in its strict military sense.

16. ξυνέπλεον—it is not clear whether this expedition took place in 478 B.C. or in the early spring of 477. The Athenian leaders were Aristides and Cimon.

21. ἐν τῷδε τῷ ἡ.—during the command of Pausanias. ἡγεμονία refers to his leadership, not to the Spartan 'hegemony': see e.g. c. 128, 7. The story of Pausanias is given in cc. 128-130. Some, to improve the sense, connect these words with the sentence that follows; see crit. note.

24. καὶ δοτοι κτλ.—see c. 89, 2; those who had revolted from Persia after Mycale.

27. γίγνεσθαι—the pres., if correct, implies that the change could not be made in a minute.

κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενές—they were not *all* Ionians, but the greater number of them were.

PAGE 84.

9. ἔφαίνετο—it is not necessary to supply a subject such as *ἡ ἀρχή*: the lit. rendering is 'an imitation of despotism was apparent (was to be seen)'; so in ii. 65, 9 ἐγίγνετο λόγῳ μὲν δημοκρατία, ἔργῳ δὲ . . ἀρχή, 'nominally a democracy was being formed.'

10. καλεῖσθαι—before the court at Sparta.

14. τῶν μὲν ιδίᾳ . . ηθίνθη—'was punished for the injuries he had privately inflicted on any person.' *τίνα* is prob. masc., the sing. being used for the plur. as elsewhere, e.g. c. 40, 5; *πρὸς τίνα*, 'in certain respects,' seems flat, and *τίνα* as neut. plur. is avoided where it is ambiguous.

15. τὰ δὲ μέγιστα—those against the state: internal accus. to ἀδικεῖν.

17. ἔδοκε—sc. τοῦτο.

23. οἱ ἔξιόντες—cp. c. 77, 6; the pres. of the succession of commanders.

χειρόους—'corrupted.'

27. ἐπιτηδείους = φθίους.

2. **ἔταξαν**—cf. *Ath. Pol.* c. 23 *τοὺς φόρους οὗτος* (Aristides) *ἥν ὁ τάξας ταῖς πόλεσιν τοὺς πρώτους ἔτει τρίτῳ μετὰ τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίαν*—in 478-77. Trans. 'assessed the contributions both of the states that were to provide money and of those,' etc.—not 'fixed which of the states,' which overlooks the technical use of *τάσσειν*, 'rate.'

5. **ἄν**=έκεινων **ἄ**, gen. of cause.

6. **Ἐλληνοταράται . . ἀρχή**—*ἀρχή* is pred., 'as an office,' and the verb is attracted into its number. Only Athenians could hold the office. They were ten in number, and were elected annually in the Ecclesia, one from each tribe. See Sandys' note on *Ath. Pol.* c. 30, 2.

9. **ὁ πρῶτος φόρος ταχθεὶς**—for the order cf. c. 11, 3. The sum is thought, on the evidence of the extant lists of the quota of $\frac{1}{10}$ th paid to Athena, to be impossibly large; and Classen therefore considered the whole passage interpolated. Perhaps the sum given was assessed, but not realised.

11. **Δῆλος**—the treasury of the league was removed to Athens in 454 B.C.

14. **βουλευόντων**—co-ordinate with *αὐτονόμων*. *ἀπό* expresses the method.

τοσάδε ἐπήλθον—the series of enterprises that are about to be noticed (c. 98-118); *τοσάδε διεπράξαντο δσα . . ἐρεῖ* Schol.

15. **διαχειρίσει πραγμάτων**—'by the management (manipulation) of political affairs.'

16. **μεταξὺ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τοῦ Μ.**—'between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars.' Greek often proceeds in this manner from the nearer to the more remote.

ἄ—the antecedent is *τοσάδε*. *ἐγένετο* stands as the passive of *ποιῶ*.

20. **τοὺς αἰεὶ προστυγχάνοντας ἐν ἐκάστῳ**—'who in the several incidents came in contact with them' as enemies ('took part with the allies' as some understand *προστυγχάνειν*, it does not seem to be supported by the usage of the word; it occurs only here in Thuc.).

21. **αὐτά**—i.e. *ἄ* *ἐγένετο κτλ.*

23. **χωρίον**—'period.'

26. Ἐλλάνικος—this is the only instance in which Thuc. names another historian. H. of Mitylene was contemporary with Pericles, and in his *Ἀρθος* (here called Ἀττικὴ ξιγγραφή) he included a sketch of historical events, and is said to have carried his work down at least to 406 B.C.

27. βραχέως τε καὶ τοῖς χρόνοις οὐκ ἀ.—Hellanicus must have been very scanty and inexact in the dates for this period, since this description would apply in a considerable degree to the better account that Thuc. proceeds to give. For the probable dates of the events to be noticed see Introd. p. xxix.

29. Ἔχει—sc. ταῦτα.

PAGE 86.

1. Ἡιόνα—this place became later the port of Amphipolis. Miltiades is the victor of Marathon.

6. ὥκισαν αὐτοί—Scyros was parcelled out among Athenian settlers, or 'cleruchs'; *sessores veteres elecit* (Cimon), *agros civibus divisit*, says Nepos.

7. ἀνευ τῶν ἀ. Εύβοέων—Carystus sided with Persia, but the rest of Euboea was in the league.

8. ξυνέβησαν—the Carystians.

12. τὸ καθεστηκός—not 'recognised principles of right.' but 'the existing arrangement' which was that the allies retained their autonomy. *δουλεία* as in c. 8, 3.

13. ξυνέβη—sc. *δουλωθῆναι*, *έδουλώθησαν*. The Schol. supplies *έδουλώθη*, and acting on this hint Krüger removes *ξινέβη*, so that *ώς ἐκάστη* (nom.) = 'severally.' This gives a simpler constrn., but the text may be sound: and, as Classen says, *ξινέβη* points to the 'varying circumstances under which the loss of *αὐτονομία* occurred.'

16. λιποστράτιον—i.e. failure to furnish *any* ships as distinct from *ἐκδειται*, which means that *part* only of the number was supplied.

17. ἀκριβῶς ἐπρασσον—'were exacting' in regard to *φόρων* *ἐκδειται*, not quite 'exacted (the tribute).'

18. λυπηροὶ ήσαν—cf. c. 76, 1: *ταλαιπωρεῖν* refers to *νεῶν* *ἐκδειται* καὶ λιποστράτιον.

20. τὰς ἀνάγκας. 'their coercive measures.' Cf. Aesch. *P.V.* 1052 ἀνάγκης στερραῖς δίναις, and see L. & S. s.v. *ἀνάγκη* 3.

22. **ἄρχοντες**—‘as rulers’ they were not popular as they had been at first. **πῶς** implies the omission of the details.

24. **δν**—i.e. **ὅτι οὕτε ξυνεστράτευον κτλ.**

27. **χρήματα ἐτάξαντο . . φέρειν**—the mid. denotes a reciprocal arrangement. **χρήματα** is prob. object of **φέρειν** and **τὸικ. ἀνάλωμα**, ‘the sum that fell to them’ is in appos. to it.

PAGE 87.

1. **ηὕξετο**—Thuc. never uses the ordinary Attic form **αὔξάνω**.

10. **ἀμφότερα**—cf. c. 13, 5.

12. **Φοινίκων**—the Persian fleet consisted almost wholly of Phoenician ships.

τὰς πάσας—‘in all.’

15. **ἀντιπέρας**—often used of the coast opposite an island, or *vice versa*.

16. **ἄ ἐνέμοντο**—see notes on p. 2, 11 and p. 44, 3. Here the two antecedents in different number require **ἄ**, which would otherwise be **δν**.

23. **αὐτοὶ ἐκράτησαν**—in contrast with the **Ἡδωνοί**—but the use of **αὐτοὶ** here, to which Steup objected, is strange. Notice how the precise sense of **οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι** shifts in this passage with the different verbs (e.g. **πέμψαντες** and **διεφθάρησαν**).

26. **ὑπὸ τῶν Θρακῶν ξυμπάντων οἷς**—all the Thracians who objected, as distinct from the Edonians only. **οἷς πολέμιον ἦν** replaces a **τῶν + partic.** limiting **ξυμπάντων**. Poppo’s conj. **ξύμπαντες**, supported by Valla’s transl. *omnes*, brings this passage more into harmony with Herod. ix. 75 and other passages in which the Edonians alone are named as destroying the A. But if Thuc. meant the Edonians only, why should he say **ὑπὸ τῶν Θρακῶν**?

27. **τὸ χωρίον κτιζόμενον**—‘the founding of the place.’

PAGE 88.

8. **αὐτοῖς**—ethic: it is constantly placed early in this manner.

περιοίκων—the free, but dependent Lacedaemonians descended from the pre-Dorian inhabitants and living in separate towns.

11. **τότε**—‘the descendants of the M. of former times who had been enslaved in the war made up most of the helots.’

πλεῖστοι is pred. ; **τότε** refers to a well-known occasion, as elsewhere in Thuc. (often too, to some event that has been already recorded by Thuc.)—here to the first Messenian war, after which the Messenians became, as Tyrtaeus says, **ώσπερ ἡμι μεγάλοις ἀχθεσι τειρίμενοι** : **δουλωθέντων** is epithet, the order being justified by **παλαιῶν**, cf. c. 11, 3 **κατεσχηκότος**.

12. **ἐκλήθησαν**—‘came to be called’ ; cf. c. 2, 4. **οἱ πάντες**, sc. **Ελλωτες**.

16. **καθελόντες**—this and the following aor. partic. are what are called ‘timeless,’ i.e. they denote merely the act, not time anterior to the verb. This happens only when the leading verb is in aorist. Cf. the constrn. with **ἔτυχον** **ἔλαθον**, **ἔφθασα**.

17. **χρήματά τε κτλ.**—the order is **ταξάμενοι αὐτίκα ἀποδοῦνται** **χ. δσα ἔδει καὶ τὸ δοιπὸν φέρειν** (**χ. δσα ἔδει**), and **χ. δσα ἔδει** is the common object and so is put first. Note the aor. of **one** act and the pres. of a system. (It is certainly wrong to make **ἀποδοῦνται** depend only on **ἔδει** and to render **καὶ** ‘also.’ This would mean that they were always to pay as much as the indemnity now exacted).

23. **ξυμμάχους**—in virtue of the alliance under Sparta still formally existing in spite of the Athenian hegemony.

24. **οἱ δὲ ἥλθον**—there was opposition at Athens to the proposal, but Cimon’s view was that Sparta on land was as necessary to Greece as Athens on sea : Greece was ‘lamed’ while Sparta was tied down (Plut. *Cim.* 16).

27. **τοῖς δέ**—eld. are divided as to whether this refers to the Athenians who fell short of their reputation, or to the Lac., i.e. whether to transl. (1) ‘but in their case (the Ath.) it gradually appeared that there was a deficiency in this (viz. **τοῦ τειχομαχεῖν δυνατοῖς εἶναι**)’ as they did not succeed in taking Ithome ; or (2) ‘whereas it was apparent to them (the Lac.) that they lacked skill in this’—so that the full form would be **ὅτι** (**οἱ μέρες Ἀθηναῖοι**) . . **τοῖς δέ** (**Λακεδαιμονίοις**). This seems better. The reading **τῆς** of the Schol. is prob. only a conjecture. **ἐνδεῖ** is again the plur. adj. for sing. (= **ἐνδεῖα**). Thuc. might have said **τοῦτο ἐνδεῖς ἐφαίνετο** in the same sense.

2. **βίᾳ γάρ**—‘for otherwise (had they been competent **τειχομαχεῖν**) they would have captured it by assault’—and would not have had to turn the siege into a blockade. Cf. on c. 11, 1.

8. **ἡγησάμενοι**—‘considering’; so often in the aor.: they reflected **ὅτι οἱ μὲν Δωριεῖς, οἱ δὲ Ἰωνεῖς** (Schol.).

μή τι κτλ. — this depends on **δεισαντες**, the clause between being parenthetical; a not very common form of constn. ; cf. Soph. *Antig.* 1278 **τὰ δὲ ἐν δόμοις | ἔσικας ἤκειν καὶ τάχ' ὅψεσθαι κακά**, with Jebb's note.

9. **νεωτερίσωσι**—i.e. by joining the helots. This would be an instance of their **τολμηρὸν καὶ νεωτεροποιία**.

12. **ἐπὶ τῷ βελτίονι λόγῳ**—‘for the better reason,’ viz. that they were no longer needed. Of course **βελτίων** implies a contrast with a suppressed **κακῶν αἰτίᾳ** viz. **τὸ ὑποψίαν τινὰ γενέσθαι**.

15. **δεινὸν ποιησάμενοι**=δ. **ἡγησάμενοι**: but **δεινόν** (-ά) **ποιεῖν**=to declare a thing intolerable.

23. **δεκάτῳ ἔτει**—this year (see chron. table p. xxx) would be 456 B.C. ; but there are several reasons for thinking **δεκάτῳ** wrong; e.g. (1) we know from [Xen.] *Ath. Pol.* that the Messenians were reduced before the battle of Tanagra, which occurred in 457 B.C., nor is it possible that Sparta should have sent a large army out of the Pel. unless this were so; (2) with **δεκάτῳ** the chronological order of events is here only in this sketch of the rise of Athens interrupted to notice an event that occurred after events that are still to be noticed. Hence Kriiger proposed **τετάρτῳ**, supposing that Thuc. wrote Δ which was taken for the initial letter of **δεκάτῳ** instead of the sign for four. Unfortunately, in view of the fact that Cimon was not sent to Sparta until after the capitulation of Thasos, and that then **ἐμηκύνετο ὁ πόλεμος**, it is doubtful if four years is long enough.

28. **εἶναι**—the infin. in *O.O.* for **ἔστω δοῦλος** of *O.R.* This infin. is particularly common in the terms of treaties.

PAGE 90.

3. **Ίθωμήτα**—Doric ending, recalling the original.

5. **κατ' ἔχθος ἥδη**—closely together, =**κατά** (‘in consequence of’) **τὸ ἥδη γεγενημένον**.

ἐς Ναύπακτον—the settlement proved most important to Athens in the Pel. War; they were expelled from Naupactus by Sparta at the end of it, and lived dispersed until Epaminondas befriended them in 370 B.C.

12. **ἔσχον**—ingressive. The possession of Megara and its

ports was of the utmost value to Athens, because they thus blocked the roads from Pel. to Attica and Boeotia.

20. ὑπέρ—‘above,’ i.e. further inland.

22. Ἀρταξέρξου—the successor of Xerxes.

PAGE 91.

4. Ἀλιᾶς—nom. Ἀλιῆς or -eis (cf. Δωρεῖς). The object of Athens was to begin a plan of connecting up the coast from the Saronic G. to the G. of Argos.

19. πρότερον with ἐπικούρους.

21. κατελαβον—the heights command the Megarid.

28. ἐκ τῆς π.—c. 8, 2.

29. οἱ τε πρεσβύτατοι καὶ οἱ ν.—those over fifty or under twenty did not as a rule serve outside Attica: here περίπολοι (18-20) and οἱ ὑπέρ πεντήκοντα ἐτη γεγονότες, as Classen points out, are meant

PAGE 92.

3. αὐτοί—subj. of θλασσον ἔχειν.

6. κακιζόμενοι=ψευδόμενοι (Schol.).

8. ἡμέραις—with ἐλθόντες ἀνθίστασαν. The dat. is much better than accus. taken with παρασκευασάμενοι.

15. προσβιασθέν—‘driven to it,’ viz. πρὸς τὸ ἴποχωρεῖν (to take οὐκ δλίγον as adverbial and qualifying προσβιασθέν with Steup is very forced). Others explain πρὸς τὸ ἐσπεσεῖν κτλ.. which on account of διαμαρτὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐσέπεσεν (=pass. of ἐσβάλλω) is less likely.

16. φέτυχεν—sc. δγ.

19. εἵργον—sc. αὐτούς. τοῖς δ. is dat. of means.

22. τὸ πλῆθος—‘the main body.’

25. τὰ μακρὰ τεῖχη—these are not the two parallel ‘Long Walls’ or ‘Long Legs’ so familiar, but (1) the northern or τὸ ἔξωθεν τεῖχος running to Piraeus, and (2) the wall to Phalerum, τὸ Φαληρικὸν τεῖχος. The third wall, parallel to the northern wall, and called τὸ διὰ μέσου or τὸ νότιον τεῖχος was added some years later. Steup supposes that all three walls are here meant, the two to Piraeus being included in τὸ ἐς Πειραιᾶ. This is contrary to Andoc. *de pace* 37 and Plat. *Gorg.*

p. 455 E, and in ii. 13, 7 it is not likely that Thuc. means both walls by *τὸ μακρόν*, esp. as immediately afterwards he uses the plur.)

28. **Δωριᾶς**—i.e. the territory of the Dorians. The names of the towns in this district are variously given by different authors; but no doubt the three places here mentioned are the most important.

PAGE 93.

3. **Νικομήδους**—brother of Pausanias. The Lac. must have crossed the Corinthian ('Crisaeae') gulf.

9. **ἀπεχώρουν**—'began to . . .'

15. **δύσοδος**—i.e. the passes are difficult.

20. **τὸ δέ τι**—*τὸ δέ* is 'on the other hand' (cf. *τὰ μὲν . . . τὰ δέ*), and *τι* 'in some measure' (cf. *οὕ τι* in Plato).

22. **ἐπήγον**—'were egging them on.'

25. **πανδημεῖ**—i.e. all liable to serve who remained at Athens.

28. **νομίσαντες δὲ κτλ.**—*νομίσαντες* and *ὑποψίᾳ* are the emphatic words (Forbes).

PAGE 94.

8. **φόνος . . . πολύς**—see Hicks, *Man. Gk. Hist. Inscr.* p. 23. Cimon, who had been banished after the return from Ithome (c. 102), was recalled after this defeat on the motion of Pericles. Plato (*Menex.*) and Demosth. speak of the battle of Tanagra as indecisive. Plato also misrepresents the ostracism of Cimon in the *Gorgias*.

11. **διὰ Γερανεῖας**—a good proof of the severity of the defeat is that the Athenians did not attempt to hold the passes against the returning Lac.

14. **Μυρωνίδου**—cf. c. 105, 4.

26. **τὸ νεώριον**—Gythium. This Chalcis is in Aetolia.

PAGE 95.

1. **ἐν ἀποβάσει τῆς γῆς**=*ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀποβάντες*.

5. **ἰδέαι**—'vicissitudes,' *διάφοροι πόλεμοι, οἷον . . . νίκαι καὶ ήτται* (Schol.).

12. **ἄλλως**—μάτην (Schol.).

19. **Προσωπίτιδα**—an island formed by one of the mouths of the Nile and a canal.

24. **Ἑπειρον**—sc. ἐποίησε.

27. **πολεμήσαντα**—there is no need to read πολεμησάντων with Cobet; cf. such expressions as *νοσεῖ τὰ πράγματα*: edd. quote Herod. vii. 9 ἐσ τοῦτο θράσεος ἀνήκει τὰ Ἑλλήνων πράγματα.

PAGE 96.

3. **ἐν τοῖς Ἐλεσι**—the Nile Delta.

5. **καὶ ἄμα**—the constn. changes from subord. to principal form: strictly we require *καὶ ἄμα ὅπι κτλ.*

7. **τὰ πάντα ἐπράξε**—i.e. *τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἐποίησε τῆς Αιγύπτου* (Schol.); see c. 104, 1.

11. **Μενδήσιον κέρας**—one of the Nile mouths named after a town Mendes. *κέρας* καλεῖ Νείλου τὸ στόμα (Schol.).

12. **εἰδότες**—after *τριήρεις*, of the crews, as often; e.g. vi. 104, 1.

20. **βασιλέως**—he belonged prob. to the Scopadae, one of the two branches of the royal house of Thessaly.

φεύγων—‘living in exile.’

25. **δσα**—sc. *κρατεῖν ἐδύναντο*. See Jebb on Soph. *O.T.* 347.

26. **ἐκ τῶν δπλῶν**—i.e. outside the camp. *τὰ δπλα* is properly the space in front of a camp where the arms were piled: so commonly in Xen.

PAGE 97.

5. **Περικλέους**—first mention of him (year 454 B.C.).

9. **τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας** depends on *Oινιάδας*.

15. **ἔσχον**—‘abstained from war with Greeks.’

18. **ἀπ' αὐτῶν**—out of the 200.

19. **μεταπέμποντος**—Thuc. often uses this verb in act., while other authors use the mid.: so too *μεταχειρίζω*, *πειρῶ*.

22. **Κίτιον**—in Cyprus (now *Chitti*)

23. **ὑπὲρ Σ.**—‘off S.’ with *ἐνανυάχησαν*.

25. ἀμφότερα—see c. 13, 5.

26. αἱ . . πάλιν [αἱ] ἐλθοῦσαι—‘which had returned from Egypt.’ αἱ is to be omitted.

PAGE 98.

5. ἐγγενομένου—cf. c. 80, 4.

6. φευγόντων—after the battle of Oenophyta, the democratic party in Boeotia had driven out the anti-Athenian oligarchs. But the exiles had recovered some of their lost power.

13. καὶ ἀνδραποδίσαντες—there is no sufficient ground for omitting these words (see crit. note): that a scribe copied them from c. 98 is very unlikely. It is remarkable that Athens should have taken such drastic measures against a place in the heart of Greece and so near.

14. καταστήσαντες—sc. ἐν αὐτῇ, unless ἐγ- should be read (if Thuc. wrote in the old Attic alphabet, ἐγ would be nearly identical with the last two letters of φυλακήν); cf. c. 115, 3.

15. Κορωνέα—*in* this engagement Clineas, father of Alcibiades, was killed; and Tolmides himself.

17. γνώμης—i.e. sympathised with the oligarchs.

22. οἱ ἄλλοι—the other Boeotians, as well as those who had been driven out.

26. διαβεβηκότος—the gen. abs. in place of *dat.*, throwing emphasis on the partic. ; cf. vi. 10 σφαλέντων δὲ (ἡμῶν) . . ταχεῖαν τὴν ἐπιχειρησιν ἡμῖν οἱ ἐχθροὶ ποιήσονται: gen. for *nom.* viii. 76, 4; for *accus.* ii. 8, 4.

PAGE 99.

9. Θριῶξ=ἐς τὸ Θριάσιον πεδίον (cf. ii. 19); Thria near Eleusis.

11. τὸ πλέον—‘further.’ Pleistoanax was banished from Sparta on his return, being thought to have taken a bribe to leave Attica (ii. 21).

15. διμολογίᾳ κατεστήσαντο—arranged their affairs under a convention. See Hicks *Man.* p. 33.

20. ἀποδόντες—for the aor. cf. c. 101, 1.

28. τὴν πολιτείαν—this is the only case in which *νεωτερίζω* has an *accus.* except a *neut. pron.* (τι, οὐδέν etc.).

PAGE 100.

5. **Δῆμον**—Athenian colony.

6. **τῶν δὲ Σαμίων**—for the constn. cf. c. 72, 1.

8. **τοῖς δινατωτάτοις**—‘the leading oligarchs’ in Samos. *ξυμαχίαν* seems to be used somewhat loosely as applied to *τοῖς δινατωτάτοις*.

10. **εἶχε Σάρδεις**—as satrap of Lydia.

13. **τῶν πλείστων**—‘most of them’; the sense is not clear.

16. **οἱ ήσαν παρὰ σφίσιν**—this seems to refer to Athenian *επίσκοποι* who were sent out to superintend the affairs of the new democratic government of Samos.

18. **παρεσκευάζοντο στρατεύειν**—μετ’ αὐτοῦ (i.e. Pisuthnes) says the Schol.; and this note has strayed into the text of CG (see crit. note).

21. **ταῖς μὲν ἐκ**—for the article cf. c. 10, 2.

24. **τῶν Φοινιστῶν νεῦν**—i.e. the Persian fleet that Pisuthnes might be expected to employ.

αἱ δὲ ἐπὶ Χίου—Sophocles the poet was *στρατηγός* of this squadron. See Jebb's Intr. to the *Antigone*.

25. **περιαγγελλούσαι βοηθεῖν**—calling for the contingents they were entitled to. Chios and Lesbos were not entirely to be depended upon.

PAGE 101.

6. **κρατοῦντες**—‘being superior.’

τρισὶ τείχεσι—intended to blockade the town on the three sides that did not face the sea. Why they built three *separate* walls is not explained.

10. **ἐσαγγελθέντων**—cf. δηλωθέντος c. 74, 1, and for the plur. c. 7, 1.

ἐπ’ αὐτούς—i.e. *τοὺς Ἀθηναίους*.

14. **ἀφάρκτῳ**—i.e. the Athenians had neglected to protect their naval station with a *σταύρωμα*.

21. **πάλιν ταῖς ναυσὶ** with *κατεκλύσθησαν*.

23. **Θουκυδίδου**—it is not known who this Thuc. is, probably not the well-known politician, nor the historian. For Phormio see c. 64: after winning great victories he died about 428 B.C.

Hagnon led the colony to Amphipolis in 437 B.C., and was again Strategus in 430 and 429 B.C. After the Sicilian disaster when an old man he was one of the ten *πρόβουλοι*.

27. *ἀντίσχειν*—the advantage of this pres. form over the aor. of *ἀντέχω* (see crit. note) is that *continuation* of resistance is implied.

PAGE 102.

1. *καθελόντες*—for the aor. see c. 101, 3.

3. *κατὰ χρόνους*—at fixed intervals.

9. *πρόφασις*—see c. 23, 6.

11. *ὅσα ἔπραξαν οἱ "Ελλῆνες*—in spite of the verbal similarity to c. 97, 1, Thuc. here includes everything related between cc. 89 and 118.

12. *ἐν ἔτεσι πεντήκοντα*—i.e. between 480 and 431 B.C. Perhaps it is in order to round off the period to fifty years exactly that Thuc. here says *μεταξὺ τῆς Ξέρξου ἀναχωρήσεως* whereas at c. 89 he began *ἔπειδὴ Μῆδοι ἀνεχώρησαν*—which is a different event.

14. *ἐν οἷς*—since the period begun at c. 97. In such a summary as Thuc. here gives we need not look for absolute accuracy in the details: he is giving the useful landmarks in the chronology. Think of the retreat of Xerxes, he says, and think of the beginning of the war, you have just fifty years, and a convenient plan for remembering how the power of Sparta among the allies was lost and that of Athens was gained.

16. *αὐτοῖς*—Athens, independently of her empire.

18. *ἐπὶ βραχύ*—‘to a small extent,’ cc. 90; 107; 112; 114.

19. *ὅντες μὲν πρὸ τοῦ μὴ ταχέες*—the *μὴ* is unusual: ‘it is as if he had said *ὡς εἰκὸς μὲν ἦν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ μὴ ταχέες ὅντας*’ (Croiset), i.e. Thuc. wants to represent a *general* cause: persons who had been slow before would naturally be slack in such a case: this connexion of cause and effect is well brought out by the *μὴ*. Cf. next note but one. (Goodwin, *M.T.* § 685 offers a curious explanation.)

21. *τὸ δέ τι*—see c. 107, 4.

πολέμοις οἰκείοις—the use of the plur. where only the Messenian War is meant shows that Thuc. is still representing the cause as a *general* one that would naturally have the effect mentioned.

22. **πρὶν δῆ**, 'until at length,' with past indic. often introduces the decisive event.

23. **τῆς ξυμμαχίας**—esp. the Corinthians.

26. **καθαιρετέα**—sem.

PAGE 103.

1. **αὐτοῖς**—as distinct from their allies : see c. 87, 6.

5. **ἀμεινον ξοται**—formula used in inquiring of oracles, and **ἀμεινον** often in the metrical replies.

7. **αὐτός**—the oracle said **ξυλλήψομαι αὐτός**.

8. **αὐθίς** with **παρακαλέσαντες** only ; this is the congress referred to in c. 87, 4. The earlier meeting implied is that of c. 87, 3.

18. **παρόντες δὲ καὶ τότε**—as they had already expressed their views to the allies as well as to Sparta, their presence at this second meeting is specially mentioned. (There is no sufficient ground for rejecting **παρόντες**. Steup conjectures **παροξύνοντες**.)

19. **τελευταῖοι ἐπελθόντες**—cf. c. 67, 5.

21. **οὐκ . . . ἔτι**—the charges (1) that the Lac. were neglecting their allies in not deciding to fight Athens. and (2) that they had not brought the allies together to vote on a clear issue, viz. on the question of war, had been brought by the Corinthians in the earlier assembly (c. 68).

23. **ἐς τοῦτο = ἐς τὸ ψηφίσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον**.

24. **γάρ** implies 'otherwise we should blame them.'

25. **τὰ ἴδια ἐξ ἵσου νέμοντας**—'while attending to their own interests as much as others do.' **τὰ ἴδια** is the interests of Sparta in contrast with **τὰ κοινά**, the common interests of the confederates. **ἐξ ἵσου**—with as much care as others of the confederates (esp. the Corinthians) attend to *their* own interests. **νέμω** is here *not* 'assign.' but 'direct, manage,' as often in trag.: how distinct the two senses are may be seen from Soph. *O.C.* 237-240 **γῆς | τῆσδ' ἡς ἐγώ κράτη τε καὶ θρόνους νέμω | μήτ' ἐσδέχεσθαι μήτε προσφωνεῖν τινα | . . . μήτε χερνιβός νέμειν.** Here **νέμοντας τὰ ἴδια** has reference to *αὗτοι* **ἐψηφισμένοι τὸν πόλεμόν εἰσι**, and **προσκοπέῖν τὰ κοινὰ** to **ἡμᾶς ἐς τοῦτο ξυνῆγαχον**.

26. **προσκοπέῖν**—*not* to foresee, but 'to consider before others,' in a higher degree, in contrast with **ἐξ ἵσου** and corresponding to the **προ-** in **προτιμῶνται**.

ἐν ἄλλοις—the Schol. takes this as neut., and so many edd., ‘in other respects’ or ‘on other occasions’: but some prefer the masc., and this is better; ‘among others,’ i.e. when the Lac. send representatives to a meeting in any allied city.

27. ἐκ πάντων—‘above all’ (masc. ; some render ‘by all,’ which is less likely).

28. ἐνηλλάγησαν—only here in this sense, *συνέμιξαν καὶ ὠμιλησαν* (Schol.). Cities on the coast who have had commercial dealings with Athens are meant.

PAGE 104

2. **κατωκημένους**—Thuc., like Herod., uses this verb in mid. as well as in act. : but only the perf. and plup. in mid. For the accus. Krüger quotes Herod. iv. 8 *κατοικημένον τὴν . . νῆσον*. ἐν πόρῳ—‘in the track’ of trade: this constn. is strange alter *τὴν μεσόγειαν* and prob. *τὴν* is meant to extend over *μὴ ἐν πόρῳ* (sc. *γῆν*).

4. *τὴν κατακομιδήν*—i.e. for exportation; *πάλιν* qualifies *ἀντιληψιν*; cf. e.g. *ἡ πάλιν κατάβασις* vii. 44. *τὴν* of course goes with both nouns.

8. **ποτε** with *προελθεῖν*.

11. **βουλεύεσθαι** depends on *χρή*.

13. *ἀνδρῶν γάρ σωφρόνων*—in sense subord. to *ἀγαθῶν δὲ κτλ.*

ἐστιν, εἰ μὴ ἀδικοῦντο—instances of this idiom in Sophocles are given by Bayfield on *Antig.* 666; Goodwin M.T. § 555; Spratt on Thuc. iii. 9. This opt. is esp. suited to such *γνῶμαι* because it puts the case in the most general way possible. Jebb on Soph. *Antig.* l.c. ἀλλ’ δν πόλις στῆσει, τοῦδε χρὴ κλύειν.

14. **ἀδικουμένους** = *εἰ ἀδικοῦντο*. The speaker impresses on the allies of the interior that they too are involved when those of the coast are wronged. The change of case (*ἀδικουμένων* might have been written) makes the partic. more emphatic.

15. **εὖ δὲ παρασχόν**—this clause added to *ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν* rather than to *σωφρόνων* shows that the *ἀνδρεῖα* meant is not opposed to the *σωφροσύνη*.

16. **καὶ μήτε . . ἐπαίρεσθαι**—this clause gives the negative of *ἐκ πολέμου πάλιν ξ.* and *μήτε . . ἀδικεῖσθαι* that of *ἀδικουμένους . . πολεμεῖν* in chiastic form. Thuc. is fond of restating in a negative a point just made; while his style is brief, there is yet a tendency to redundancy. See Intr. p. xlvi. *τῷ ησύχῳ τῆς*

ερήνης is according to the constant habit of substituting the adj. neut. for subst. in giving the quality of a person or thing. The form **ἡσύχιος** (see crit. note) is rarer, and as **τὸ ήσιχον** occurs in vi. 18 and 34, not to be preferred. **ἡδόμενον** is in the sing. as if **τινα** had preceded.

19. **όκνων**—sc. **πολεμεῖν**. Some regard **εἰ ήσυχάζοι** as a gloss, but if it is tautological after **όκνων** so is **δι' ὅπερ ὄκνει** after **διὰ τὴν ἡδονήν**.

22. **πλεονάζων**—**ἐπαιρόμενος** (Croiset).

ἐντεθύμηται . . . ἐπαιρόμενος—the constrn. as with **οἶδα**. Why the **θράσος** is **ἀπιστον** is explained in what follows.

23. **γνωσθέντα**—‘planned.’

24. **τυχόντα**—‘luckily finding the enemy more ill-advised’ have been brought to a successful issue. It is difficult to choose between **τυχόντα** and **τυχόντων**, ‘chanced to be,’ agreeing with **ἐναντίων**, but in such a matter the authority of CG is to be preferred (the Schol. read **τυχόντα**): for the same reason **ά** is best omitted after **πλείω**.

26. **ἐνθυμεῖται γὰρ κτλ.**—lit. ‘no man by his confidence forms plans in the same spirit (**όμοία** = **όμοιως**) as he carries them out,’ i.e. a man may be confident when he makes a plan: it does not follow that he does not carry it out in the same spirit. Reiske’s **όμοιος**, ‘with the same degree of confidence,’ makes the construction easier, but is not certainly necessary. **Ἐργώ** goes so closely with **ἐπεξέρχεται** that **τῇ πλοτεῖ** just before in a different relation to its verb is not felt to be awkward. The *security* with which the notion is formed gives place to *apprehension*, and so ‘we are found wanting.’ Hence **τὰ καλῶς βουλευθέντα** *miscarry*.

PAGE 105.

3. **ήμεις δέ**—the application of the general statements in c. 120, 3.

5. **ἀμυνώμεθα**—aorist (fut.-perf.).

6. **καταθησόμεθα**—cf. **τίθεσθαι** c. 82, 6.

7. **κατὰ πολλά**—‘on many grounds.’

9. **όμοιως πάντας**—‘all with equal readiness carrying out the orders given,’ i.e. in the field, as usual; and the edd. point out that the allusion is to the **κόσμος** for which the Darians

were famous. Cf. v. 66. *lēvai* ἐσ τὰ παραγγελλόμενα occurs again in iii. 55 in the sense 'to answer to a call.' For *lēvai* ἐσ of eager action cf. c. 1.

12. **ἔξαρτυσθμεθα**—the reading of C is clearly right: there is no place here for the hortative subj.

τῶν . . χρημάτων—the treasure in the temples. These could only be treated as a loan.

15. **ξένους**—adj., those from the subject allies.

17. **ἡσσον ἀν τοῦτο πάθοι**—i.e. τὸ ὑπολαμβάνεσθαι μισθῷ μείζονι, because our men are not paid—it is the service of men, not money, that gives us our strength. **τοῖς χρήμασι** corresponds to ὀνητῇ.

19. **ναυμαχίας**—defining gen.; **ἀλίσκονται** of course is pres. for fut., 'they are lost.' (Some see here a reference after the event to the battle of Aegospotami and the capture of Athens; but the *τε* shows that the sentence is a *conclusion* from what precedes; and Aegospotami was not the result of the cause there stated.)

εἰ δ' ἀντίσχολεν—'supposing they should hold out,' i.e. if they are not defeated at sea after all (meaning 'suppose we are defeated instead'), we shall get the better of them in the end.

24. **8 δ' ἐ. ἐπιστήμη προύχονται**—'the advantage that they have in point of skill.' δ is accus. of measure, and the dat. as usual gives the point of excellence (δ is not accus. of respect; and as to *Antig.* 208 *τιμὴν προέξοντο* see Jebb's note). For the superiority of *φύσις* over *διδαχή* see c. 139, 2.

25. **καθαιρετόν**—'we can annul': *καθαιρετέον* would mean 'we must,' which does not give a good antithesis to *οὐκ ἀν γένοιτο*. Again C alone has the correct form.

26. **ἐσ αὐτά**—viz. *ἐσ τὸ μελετᾶν τὰ ναυτικὰ ἕως ἀν ἐσ τὸ ἵσον καταστησώμεθα*.

27. **ἢ**—'otherwise.'

εἰ οὐκ . . ἀπεροῦσιν . . οὐκ ἄρα δαπανήσομεν—in a bi-membered sentence of this kind, *οὐ* is regularly used in the second clause if the verb is in *indic.*, *μή* if the verb is in *opt.* The first clause is logically subordinate to the second. Cf. *Andoc.* i. 102 *οὐκ οὖν δεινόν, εἰ ὑπὸ μὲν τούτων διὰ τοῦτ' ἀν ἀπωλόμην . . ἐν ὑμῖν δὲ κρινόμενος . . οὐ σωθήσομαι*;

PAGE 106.

3. **ἄρα**—‘we then decide not,’ i.e. infer that this is the way to attain our objects.

4. **αὐτά**—this and *αὐτοῖς τούτοις* refer to *χρήματα*.

6. **ξυμάχων τε ἀπόστασις κτλ.**—‘such as revolt of allies, which means in the main withdrawal of the revenues that give them their strength, and erection of a hostile fortress in their country.’ The first ‘way of war’ was followed by Brasidas in 424 B.C. : the second was not used until 413 B.C. (Decelea), but the Athenians had then long feared such an attempt. The context makes it clear that *ἀπόστασις* implies the *bringing about* of revolt.

11. **ἐπὶ ρήτορēs**—‘in accordance with fixed conditions’ : cf. c. 13, 1 : the meaning is explained in the following words.

13. **ἐν φ. κτλ.**—‘and in this case,’ i.e. ‘and this being so, he who enters on war in a calm spirit is safer, whereas he who loses control of himself over it gets more falls.’ The meaning is ‘opportunities arise in war and have to be seized as they arise : it is not well for us to get excited now in thinking out plans of campaign—such cut and dried schemes generally miscarry—but what we must do is to enter on war calmly and take opportunities as they occur.’ *όργή* means ‘excitement,’ not anger here : cf. ii. 11, 7 : *οὐκ ἐλάσσω* euphemism for *πλεῖω*, i.e. probably *ἢ ὁ εὐοργήτως προσομιλήσας*.

17. **ἐκάστοις**—each state.

πρὸς ἀντιπάλους—‘with an enemy equal to us’ (and not stronger).

18. **οἰστόν**—‘the position would be easy,’ i.e. there would be no need for us to combine.

20. **κατὰ πόλιν**=(*πρὸς ἡμᾶς*) *κατὰ πόλιν*, lit. ‘as compared with us separately city by city.’ For *ἔτι* we expect *πολύ*, ‘far more powerful,’ since we want a strong contrast after *ἰκανοί πρὸς ξύμπαντας*. *ἔτι* must be regarded as a meiosis. (Conradt and Steup have proposed considerable changes, but the text appears to be sound.)

21. **καὶ ἀθρόοι**—‘not only as a confederacy, but every tribe and every single town.’

25. **ἄντικρυς δουλείαν**—‘downright slavery’ ; cf. viii. 64 • *ἢ ἄντικρυς ἐλευθερία* ; the adv. qualifies noun though without the art., as in vii. 81 *οὐ δισταδὸν μάχαις ἔχοντο*.

26. **οὐ καὶ κτλ.**—‘the very mention of which as a possibility is disgraceful’ (Wilkins). **ὅ** is **τὸ δουλεύειν**.

27. **καὶ πόλεις κτλ.**—some edd. make this a second subject to **ἐνδουασθῆναι** (Krüger, Classen, Croiset), which gives an excellent sense: but the constn. is simpler if **αισχρόν** is made pred. to this—‘and that so many cities should be maltreated by one.’ Whichever be right, the ref. must be to the misery of political slavery imposed by Athens; and cannot, in view of the next sentence, and of **ἡλευθέρωσαν**, p. 107 l. 2) (**δουλεῖαν**, apply to the *present* treatment of the confederacy).

28. **ἐν ᾧ**—‘in that case’; cf. § 1; = **εἰ πόλεις τοσαῦτες . . . κακοπαθοῦμεν**.

PAGE 107.

2. **ἡμεῖς δέ**—this is in contrast with **οἱ = οἱ μὲν γὰρ (πατέρες)**. **αὐτό** means **τὴν ἐλευθερίαν** implied in **ἡλευθέρωσαν**. **ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς** of course means for the Peloponnesians: and this clause implies ‘much less do we give freedom to *all Greece*’: hence there is no difficulty in supplying **ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι το ἐγκαθεστάναι**.

3. **τύραννον δὲ . . . καταλύειν**—‘we allow a despotic state to establish itself in Greece; and yet we make a point of putting down despots in any single city.’ **τοὺς ἐν μιᾷ**, sc. **πόλει** (which possibly has dropped out of the text), **μονάρχους** is opposed to **τύραννον πόλιν ἐν Ἑλλάδι**. The *traditional* policy of Sparta is alluded to.

5. **ἰστμεν**—sc. **ἡμεῖς** (of the *speaker*). The subject is not identical with that of **ἀξιοῦμεν** (the confederacy).

6. **τάδε . . . ἀπήλλακται**—‘this policy is (=can possibly be) free from’—viz. the policy of allowing an Athens to flourish. As it is not free from all three, it is exposed to at least one: hence there is no need for **ἐνός** after **ξυμφορῶν**: see p. 31 l. 5.

8. **οὐ γὰρ δὴ πεφευγότες αὐτά**—the rendering ‘we cannot suppose that you have avoided these evils only to’ etc. (Classen, Croiset, Forbes, etc.), meaning by irony ‘we suspect that you have,’ cannot be right, since the previous sentence distinctly says, ‘you have *not* escaped all three of these **ξυμφοραί**.’ Hence we must transl. (with Krüger, Böhme, Steup): ‘For it is not the case that you are free from these errors in assuming that contempt which has proved ruinous to so many (**δὴ** strengthens **πλείστους**), and which from its tendency to trip men up, has received instead (sc. from prudent men) the opposite name of folly.’ Nothing is gained by preserving the jingle in **καταφρόνησις** and **ἀφροσύνη**, because (1) to a Greek writer such a jingle

has some rhetorical merit; in English it is detestable and pointless; (2) though ἀφροσίνη is spoken of as the *opposite* (έναντιον) of καταφρόνησις, it is really only *different*, but early Greek thinkers on the meaning of terms often confuse the contrary with the contradictory. τὸ ἑναντίον δνομα is internal accus. to μετωνύμασται.

13. τοῖς νῦν—neut., and so μελλόντων and παροῦσι.

14. περὶ=ὑπέρ, with ἐπιταλαπωρεῖν, i.e. προσθεῖναι τὸ πόνον (Schol.).

16. ἐκ τῶν πόνων τὰς ἀρετὰς—famous characteristic of the Dorians. Cf. Hesiod, *W. and D.* 289 (Plat. *Rep.* p. 364 D, Xen. *Mem.* II. i. 20) τῆς ἀρετῆς ἴδρωτα θεοὶ προπάροιθεν ἔθηκαν, quoted by several edd.: in the Funeral Speech Pericles speaks of the ἐπίτονος δσκησις of the Spartans.

18. ἔχουσιά—δινάμει.

προφέρετε=προέχετε, only used in this way by Herod., Thuc., and poets.

21. κατὰ πολλά—three grounds for confidence are presently given.

22. αὐτοῦ—see c. 118, 3.

24. τὰ μὲν φόβῳ κτλ.—‘those who are not yet enslaved by the Athenians fear to be so (φόβῳ): those who are so already hope to regain their liberty (ἀφελίᾳ).’ Croiset. ὀφελίᾳ, dat. of motive, is, as Mr. Forbes says, here used for the *idea* (desire) of the thing rather than for the thing itself; he compares ἀρετὴ c. 33 and τιμή c. 75; and so elsewhere.

25. σπουδάς—c. 53, 2.

PAGE 108.

2. κοινῇ—‘in the common interest.’

3. εἰπερ βεβαιώτατον κτλ.—‘inasmuch as the surest ground (for taking common action) is that both cities and individuals have the same interests.’ This is the only natural way of taking the words, for the order does not allow καὶ πόλεσι καὶ λ. to go with βεβαιώτατον, as Classen supposed (Stahl and others alter the text to make this constn. possible). The meaning is explained by οὖσι Δωρεύσαι κτλ.: it is the interest of every city and every individual member of the confederacy that Dorians should be protected from Ionians. (The mss. have ταῦτα for ταῦτά, and this is transl. ‘since it is most certain that this course—to go to war—is to the interest of,’ etc.)

7. οὐ πρότερον ἦν τ.—in former times Dorians were recognised as superior in war to Ionians. In such a rhetorical statement we need not look for any specific historical reference.

9. ὡς οὐκέτι ἐνδέχεται κτλ.—‘for it is now out of the question that we should wait (for common action by the confederacy), and that some of us (e.g. we Corinthians) should now be suffering and others . . . should shortly have the same experience.’ Cf. vii. 42 νομίσας οὐχ οἶνος τε εἶναι διατρίβειν οὐδὲ παθεῖν δπερ ὁ Νικλας ἔπαθεν.

16. αὐτοῦ—τοῦ πολέμου.

17. διὰ πλείονος—of time, in contrast with αὐτίκα.

ἐκ πολέμου μὲν κτλ.—the sentence becomes clear when τοῖς ἐς ἀνάγκην ἀφιγμένοις is supplied from above, i.e. where war becomes a necessity. πολεμῆσαι is ingressive.

23. διανοεῖσθαι—cf. c. 1, 1.

PAGE 109.

4. τὸ πλῆθος—often of the greater number.

6. ἐκπορίζεσθαι . . . ἐκάστοις—as the several states were to carry out a general resolution, it is best with Steup to take ἐκ. as *passive* and ἐκάστοις as *agent*. It is then unnecessary to read ἐκάστοις.

8. καθισταμένοις—παρασκευαζομένοις (Schol.).

9. ἐνιαυτὸς μὲν οὐ δ., Ελασσον δε—this certainly emphasises the length of time occupied, in spite of their haste, and not the promptitude of the confederacy; the latter would be inconsistent with all that precedes (c. 71, 4; 124, 1, and this section). Thuc. means clearly (it seems to me), ‘I was going to say a year was consumed; but no, it was less than that’; i.e. it was not much less. (1) In ii. 2, if the text is sound, we read that the entry into Plataea took place at the very beginning of spring 431, and in the *sixth month* after the battle of Potidaea (see c. 62); and (2) we are further told that the first invasion of Attica was eighty days after the seizure of Plataea. Hence the whole time between the battle of Potidaea and the first invasion would be less than nine months, and to arrive at the length of time that separates the *resolution of the confederacy* from the first invasion, we must deduct the time occupied by the events narrated in cc. 63-88 and 118-125, which are:

1. The Athenians built a wall on north side of Potidaea and garrisoned it.

2. *χρόνῳ ὑστερον* Phormio was sent from Attica with 1600 hoplites ; and *κατὰ βραχὺ προήει*.
3. Phormio built a wall south of Potidaea.
4. The Corinthians called a meeting at Sparta. (At what exact stage of affairs this was done is not clear.)
5. The Spartans sent to Delphi.
6. The general meeting was held at Sparta, and the decision taken.

Hence the time would be *much* less than a year ; and it is probable that the *μηνὶ ἔκτῳ* of ii. 2 is somehow corrupt.

πρὸς ἑσβαλεῖν—under Archidamus. The account of it is in ii. 19.

12. *ἐπρεσβεύοντο*—following, as it turned out, the advice of Archidamus ; see c. 82. He was afterwards blamed for not having been eager to begin the war.

18. *τὸς ἄγος τῆς θεοῦ*—i.e. those who were under the curse of Athena. The chief authorities for the story of Cylon and the Alcmaeonidae are, besides Thuc., Herod. v. 71 (Thuc. differs from him, and is *perhaps* correcting his account), Plut. Sol. 12. The *Ath. Pol.* init. shows that the attempt of Cylon preceded the legislation of Draco. *ἄγος* is a pollution under which a person, a house, or a community labours.

20. *Κύλων ἦν*—two scholia show that the following narrative was admired in antiquity for its clearness and smoothness ; one says ‘The Lion laughed here.’

‘Ολυμπιονίκης’—in 640 B.C. (see Sandys on *Ath. Pol.* init.).

21. *τῶν πάλαι*—part., ‘of his date’ (*not*, ‘of an ancient family’).

23. *κατ’ ἔκεινον τὸν χρόνον*—his expulsion is supposed to have occurred in 600 or 590 B.C.

24. *χρωμένῳ*—cf. c. 123, 1. Both act. and mid. are rare in Attic, the act. sense being given by *ἀναιρῶ* or *μαντεύομαι*, the mid. by *ἐπερωτῶ*.

1. *ἐπῆλθεν*—the reading *ἐπῆλθον* has not enough ms. support to be acceptable ; but in v. 49 all mss. give *Καρνεῖα ἐπέγχαρον δυτα*. In two other places in Thuc. all mss. give plur. with neut. plur. subj.—v. 26 *ἀμαρτήματα ἐγένοντο* ; vi. 62 *ἐγένοντο . . . εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν τάλαντα*. In Xen. the plur. is common.

4. **τι προσήκειν**—‘had some connexion.’

7. **Ἐτι κατενόησε . . ἐδήλου**—‘had not gone on to consider . . gave no information.’

8. **Διάσια**—‘for the Athenians too have (their festival of Zeus) the Diasia, which is called the greatest festival of Zeus Meilichius,’ in contrast with other festivals of Zeus Meilichius. Of course *καὶ* before *Αθηναῖοις* does not imply that the Pel. had Diasia, but *Διάσια* is a brachylogy for *ἐορτὴ Διὸς Διάσια*.

10. **πανδημεῖ**—by the whole people together, not in separate demes.

πολλὰ οὐχ ἵερεῖα, ἀλλ’ ἀγνὰ θ. έ.—Pollux i. 26 (2nd cent. A.D.) says ‘spices are also called “incense”: Thuc. calls them ἀγνὰ θύματα in contrast with τὰ αιμάσσοντα καὶ σφαττόμενα,’ i.e. with *ἵερεῖα*. Hence ἀγνά is to be read here. The Schol. says ‘cakes made in the shape of animals’ are meant. **πολλοὶ** of the MSS. will not do, because it is inconsistent with *πανδημεῖ*. (**πολλοὶ** without δέ could not = *but* many, as the Schol. suggests; and the Schol. cannot have read here *πανδημεῖ* *ἐορτάζοντι*, θύοντι δὲ **πολλοὶ**, which Stahl prints, since those are the very words of his note, and he would merely have copied out the text *verbatim*. Lastly θύματα ἐπιχώρια, meaning ‘cakes’ or ‘incense,’ is not inconsistent with Xen. *Anab.* vii. 8, where we read that Xen. had sacrificed *holocausts* to Zeus Meilichius when at home; this cannot refer to the Diasia, but must mean another feast of Zeus Meilichius.)

14. **αὐτούς**—Cylon and his supporters, who had seized the acropolis.

προσκαθεζόμενοι—this form serves for the aor. as well as pres.

15. **ἐγγιγνομένου**—‘being spent over the matter.’ Cf. *χρόνος ἐνέσται* p. 61 l. 17.

17. **τοῖς ἐννέᾳ ἀρχοντι**—Megacles the Alcmaeonid was one of them.

18. **αὐτοκράτορι**—without reference to the assembly.

19. **ἀριστα**—adj., sc. εἶναι, like ἀμεινόν ἔστι, for this is merely plur. for sing.

τότε δέ—the ten *στρατηγοί* did not as yet exist, and the archons were *appointed* (not elected by lot) by the Areopagus. In the time of Thuc. their duties were almost entirely judicial.

26. **τὸν βωμόν** of Athena.

PAGE 111.

1. **ἀναστῆσαντες** = **ἀναστῆναι πείσαντες**, and on this depends **ἐφ' ω**, for which cf. c. 103, 1.

τῶν Ἀθηναίων—partitive: see c. 9, 2.

5. **ἐπὶ τῶν σεμνῶν θ. τοῖς βωμοῖς**—‘at the altars of the Eumenides,’ probably the most sacred asylum at Athens. The shrine stood by the cleft in the N.E. side of the Areopagus, where the Furies were established, after being reconciled to Athena. **τοῖς βωμοῖς** is however probably spurious; the order is suspicious (cf. v. 50 **ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ Διός**, and cf. Arist. *Knights* 1311 **καθῆσθαι μοι δοκεῖ εἰς τὸ Θησείον πλεοῖσας ή πὶ τῶν σεμνῶν θεῶν**, and *Thesm.* 224 (**θέων**) **ἐς τὸ τῶν σεμνῶν θεῶν**).

6. **ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ** with **καθεζομένους**, on the way, while passing from the altar of Athena. It was because they feared they were to be killed that they sought asylum a second time.

7. **ἐναγεῖς καὶ ἀλιτήριοι τῆς θεοῦ**—cf. Arist. *Eq.* 445 **ἐκ τῶν ἀλιτηρίων σέ φημι γεγονέναι τῆς θεοῦ** (Cleon to the Sausage-man). **ἀλιτήριοι** were thought dangerous people to live with (cf. Neil ad l.c.), and so the Alcmaeonidae were all banished, and at first *for ever*. *Ath. Pol.* i. But they returned, and in 508 a second expulsion took place at the instigation of the opponents of Cleisthenes the Alcmaeonid, who were supported by Cleomenes.

12. **στασιαζόντων**—the party opposed to Cleisthenes and led by Isagoras. Cleisthenes was almost immediately recalled.

13. **τὰ δοτὰ ἀνελόντες**—so *Ath. Pol.* i. **ἐκ τῶν τάφων ἐξεβλήθησαν**, but the incident is there connected with the *first* expulsion.

17. **πρῶτον**—‘first and foremost.’ **δῆθεν** shows this is sarcastic.

19. **κατὰ τὴν μητέρα**—the family tree is as follows:—

Megacles, the Archon

Alcmaeon

Megacles, opponent of Peisistratus Ariphron

Cleisthenes ὁ τὴν δημοκρατίαν
καταστήσας

Agariste m. Xanthippus

Pericles

Ariphron

20. **ράπον** <*άν*>—the addition of *άν* is necessary; cf. c. 57.
 5. There is no ex. of pres. in fut. sense after *νομίζω* (Stahl, *Q. G.* pp. 6 f.).

22. **παθεῖν** *άν* . . **οίσειν**—the aor. with *άν* expresses a contingency, the fut. a certainty. The subject of *οίσειν* is prob. *αὐτό* or *τὸ πρᾶγμα* supplied in sense.

23. **ώς**—‘since.’

24. **τὸ μέρος**—‘partly’; cf. p. 66 l. 9.

26. **ἄγων τὴν πολιτείαν**—cf. ii. 65 of Pericles *τὸ πλῆθος ἥγε.* In *Ath. Pol.* c. 27 *τὴν π. ἄγειν εἰς αὐτούς*=‘to get political power into their own hands.’

PAGE 112.

2. **τὸ ἀπὸ Τ. ἄγος**—‘the pollution resulting from (the affair of) Mt. Taenarus.’

8. **σεισμόν**—c. 101, 2.

9. **Χαλκιοίκου**—there was a bronze temple and statue of Athena at Sparta on the Acropolis; hence the name. The *τέμενος* covered a considerable space and contained several buildings.

11. **τὸ πρῶτον**—‘for the first time’; see c. 95.

15. **Ἐρμιονίδα**—of Hermione, in Argolis.

16. **ἄνευ**—‘without the orders of’; cf. c. 91, 5. *Ιδίᾳ* gives, in the positive form, the same sense as *ἄνευ Λ.*; cf. p. 103 l. 16.

17. **Ἐλληνικόν**—‘national,’ that against Persia; if the reading is right the object is to make an antithesis with *τὰ πρὸς βασιλέα π.*, but ‘*Ἐλληνικὸς π.* generally means ‘a war *against*’ or ‘*between Greeks.*’ Many edd. accept *Μηδικόν* (see crit. note).

19. **πράσσειν**—inf. of purpose; cf. vi. 8, 2 *ξιγκατοικόσαι Λεοντίνους*. The sense of *diplomatic* or *secret* negotiation often underlies *πράσσω*.

20. **Ἐλληνικῆς**—‘to rule Greece.’

21. **ἀπὸ τοῦδε**—referring to what follows. For *κατέθετο* cf. c. 33, 1.

23. **Βυζάντιον**—see c. 94, 2.

τῇ προτέρᾳ π.—dat. of time without *έν* is possible, as *παρουσία* implies time; cf. c. 44; ii. 20, *έκείνη τῇ ἐσβολῇ*.

26. **τότε**—‘at that time,’ viz. *τῇ προτέρᾳ παρουσίᾳ*: many edd. following Krüger put *τότε* inside the parenthesis and take

it with ἔλωσαν, and this seems more likely. *τοίτων* has been conjectured for *τούτοις*: but *τούτοις* refers prob. to βασιλέως προσήκοντες καὶ ξιγγενεῖς, and ἐλαζεν = 'captured,' not 'received as his share of the spoil.'

PAGE 113.

1. *τῶν ἄλλων* §. — the *exclusive* use of *ἄλλος*, 'the rest,' i.e. the allies.'

2. *Γογγύλου*—he received from Xerxes certain places in the Troad in reward for his treason, and in the time of Thuc. his descendants still possessed them.

5. *αὐτῷ—βασιλεῖ*.

9. *δορί* = *μάχη*, poetical, a remnant of the Ionic in which the original letter was composed.

γνώμην ποιοῦμας—'propose.' Stephanus altered *ἀποπέμπει* above to *ἀποπέμπω*, but the same change from 3rd to 1st pers. occurs in the terms of the Peace of Antalcidas, Xen. *Hell.* v. i. 31.

10. *τὴν σήν—σήν* = 'a daughter of yours' may be right (see crit. note).

17. *ἥσθη τε καὶ ἀποστέλλει*—the co-ordination of historic pres. and aorist is common in Thuc. ; cf. c. 131, 2.

20. *Δασκυλίτιν*—Dascylium in Bithynia was the capital of this province, *Φρυγία* ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντῳ, or κάτω *Φρυγία*. The Persian empire was divided into twenty satrapies.

22. *καὶ* answers *τε*, so that strictly we should have a second infin., but the constn. of the *kai*-clause is changed and made independent, as in iii. 94, 3 ; iv. 3, 3 ; v. 61, 4.

23. *ἀντεπέθει*—'charged him with . . . in return'; Croiset compares Demosth. 34, 28 *τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἀς ἐκεθήκαμεν*. The infin. follows as with *δίδωμι*, as if he had said *ἀντεπέστελλε*.

24. *ἀποδεῖξαι*—i.e. to show to Pausanias, through the messenger, the great king's seal on the letter.

25. *ἴαυτοῦ—βασιλέως*.

PAGE 114.

2. *τῶν ἀνδρῶν . . . κείσεται σοι εὐεργεσία*—lit. 'in connexion with the men . . . a service is set down to you in the record for ever.' *τῶν ἀνδρῶν* is objective gen. : *εὐεργεσία* is the service

rendered by Pausanias (*not*, as Mr. Forbes supposes, due to him). The benefactors of the Great King were recorded in a chronicle, Herod. viii. 85. *κεῖται* is the pass. of *κατέθετο*, c. 128, 4. Pausanias had established a right to consideration for himself and his descendants.

6. ἀρέσκομαι—not the Ionic use of c. 35, 2.

μήτε νὺξ μήθ' ἡμέρα—this and *χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου δαπάνη* are quite in the Persian style: we can hardly doubt that the letter is substantially genuine.

9. *κεκωλύσθω*—sc. ὡν ἐμοὶ ὑπισχνεῖ τι. The 3rd pers. is awkward, and *κεκώλυσο* has been proposed.

12. *κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα*—cf. Xen. *Anab.* III. i. 6 ἐπήρετο τίνι ἀν θύνων κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα ἔλθοι.

19. *σκευὰς Μηδικάς*—the dress was the *κάνδυς*, a long robe with long broad sleeves over a short tunic, *ἀναξυρίδες*, trousers, and *τιάρα*, head-dress; also bracelets (*ψέλια*) and necklaces (*στρεπτοί*).

22. *τράπεζάν τε*—*epulabatur more Persarum luxuriosius*, says Nepos; cf. the *Persicos odi apparatus* of Horace. The simplicity of the Greek *δεῖπνον* is notorious.

24. *βραχέστι*—‘small.’

τῇ γνώμῃ—with *ἔμελλε*, ‘he meant to.’

26. *ὅργῆ*—‘temper’ in neutral sense; cf. c. 122, 1. He made men ‘wait before his doors’ as if he were a satrap.

PAGE 115.

4. *ἀνεκάλεσαν*—plup. in sense.

7. *ἐκ τοῦ Βυζαντίου*—see c. 128, 5.

10. *Τρωάδας*—adj. = *Τρωικάς*; cf. vi. 62 Ἐλλὰς πόλις. The use of such forms as adj. is poetical and Ionic.

14. *σκυτάλην*—‘a secret message.’ Plut. *Lys.* 19 gives a complete description: when a general was sent out from Sparta two sticks of exactly the same size were prepared; the ephors kept one, the officer the other. When the ephors wished to send a secret message, they wrapped a strip of papyrus round their stick spirally and wrote on it. They then sent the papyrus only, and in order to read it, the officer had to wrap it again round the other stick. Both sticks and message were called *σκυτάλη*.

15. εἰ δὲ μή—c. 28, 3.

16. προαγορεύειν—depending on *εἰπον*, but in a different relation; cf. c. 26, 5.

20. τὸν βασιλέα—and Pausanias was only the king's guardian.

21. διαπραξάμενος—by some form of negotiation (probably bribery) he was released from prison.

23. περὶ αὐτῶν—i.e. τῶν κατηγορημάτων (Schol.): sc. ἐιστόν. The other reading περὶ αὐτόν is hardly defended by ἐκ τῶν περὶ Παυσανίαν ἐλέγχων c. 135, 2, for the verb is regularly trans.

26. ἐν—with *ἐπιμωροῦντο*.

PAGE 116.

4. Ίσος εἶναι τοῖς παροῦσι—'to conform to existing conditions,' *τοῖς* ήθεσι τῶν Λακώνων (Schol.), or better, 'to the circumstances in which he found himself' as a Σπαρτιάτης. (Various alterations of the text have been proposed here, e.g. ἐν τοῖς παροῦσι, 'in his present conduct' Croiset—or *ἐπὶ τοῖς* π. Stein—but there seems to be no very definite objection to it as it stands.)

5. τά τε ἀλλα—the *τε* = 'both,' looking as to what follows; so that we have here an explanation of *ὑποψίας* . . . παροῦσι. (Some edd. insert *kai* before *τά*.)

6. ἔξεδεδιγήτητο κτλ. = *ἔξω τῶν* . . . *ἔδεδιγτητο*.

7. τὸν τρίποδα—this was a golden tripod supported by a bronze stand in the shape of three serpents twisted together (Herod. ix. 81). It was dedicated after Plataea. The gold part was afterwards destroyed by the Phocians in the Sacred War (Pausan. x. xiii. 9), but the stand was removed to Byzantium, and still exists at Constantinople. See Hicks *Man. Hist. Inscr.* p. 11.

10. τὸ θεγεῖον—this 'couplet,' which 'he dared to have inscribed on his own authority,' is attributed to Simonides of Ceos. In the Anthology it reads thus:

Ἐλλάνων ἀρχαγός ἐπεὶ στρατὸν ὠλεσα Μήδων
Παυσανίας Φοιβῷ μνᾶμ' ἀνέθηκα τόδε.

ἀρχαγός was a title of the Spartan kings.

14. εἰθὺς τότε—at the time that the tripod was offered.

17. μέντοι—although the offensive inscription was removed.

ἀδίκημα καὶ τότ' ἔδόκει εἶναι—‘(this act) was thought even at that time to be a crime.’ The subject of ἔδόκει is αὐτό, the act of having the couplet inscribed. τότ' was first adopted by Classen for τοῦτ', and καὶ ἐπει γε δὴ ἐν τούτῳ καθειστήκει requires it as a contrast of *time*: also there is no point in καὶ τοῦτ', as no other offence of P. in earlier times has been mentioned to justify καὶ. Stein inserts τοῦτο after ἀδίκημα, but this is not necessary.

18. ἐπει γε δὴ ἐν τούτῳ καθειστήκει—i.e. now when he was accused of ‘Medism.’ ἐπει γε δὴ is more emphatic than ἐπειδὴ.

25. οὐδὲ τῶν . . πιστεύσαντες—an explanation of οὐδ' ὡς.

μηνυταῖς—the technical word for an informer who had not full citizen-rights.

27. εἰώθασιν—sc. χρῆσθαι.

PAGE 117.

4. Ἀργίλιος—he was a slave from the Thracian town Argilus

5. αὐτοῦ . . ἔκεινω—applying to the same person; cf. iv. 73, 4; vi. 61, 7 κατέγνωσαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν μετ' ἔκεινον: Andoc. 1, 64 εἴπον αὐτοῖς . . ἔκεινοις δέ: conversely vii. 14 εἰ προσγενήσεται . . πρὸς ἔκεινοις χωρῆσαι, διαπεπολεμήσεται αὐτοῖς: Plat. Rep. p. 343 οἱ εὐδαίμονα ἔκεινοι ποιοῦσιν ὑπηρετοῦντες αὐτῷ.

μηνυτής γίγνεται, δεῖσας . . καὶ παρασημηνάμενος . . λύει—καὶ joins δεῖσας to λύει, which should strictly be λύσας: the constrn. is thus changed from partic. to finite verb, as ii. 47 λεγόμενον μὲν . . οὐ μέντοι ἐμνημονεύετο: vii. 13 τῶν ναυτῶν μὲν . . ἀπολλυμένων, οἱ δὲ θεράποντες . . αὐτομολοῦσι.

Stein reads δεῖσας, but no change is needed. καὶ does not join γίγνεται to λύει because the clause with λύει is anterior in time to γ. μηνυτής, and such a *hysteron proteron* is without example in Thuc.

6. κατὰ ἐνθύμησίν τινα=ἐνθυμηθεὶς, ‘because he noticed.’

8. παρασημηνάμενος—‘counterfeiting’; ‘for Thuc. says παρασημηνάμενος τὴν σφραγίδα in the sense of παραποτώσασθαι’ Pollux viii. 27. This reading, restored by Hude, is better than παραποιησάμενος, which is probably a gloss on it.

ἢν ψευσθῇ τῆς δόξης—i.e. if his suspicion about the contents of the letter proved false. He could then replace the seal and go on to Artabazus. Did it not occur to him that even in this case he might ‘never return,’ i.e. be put to death?

9. *ἢ καὶ ἔκείνος*—i.e. in case Pausanias should ask for the letter back before the messenger left, in order to alter something in it. If the messenger's suspicion about the letter proved false, he would say nothing, but seal up the letter. But suppose the man's suspicions proved *true*, why should he not have contemplated an immediate visit to the *ephors*, without giving Pausanias time to ask for the letter back? In point of fact this is what the man did. (The text is suspected by some edd.—e.g. Herwerden and Steup—but the confusion of the messenger's motives seems to come from Thuc.)

14. *ἐπιστενσαν*—sc. that the information they had received from the helots was true.

16. *ἀπὸ παρασκευῆς*—cf. Lysias 13, 22 *εἰ μὴ ἐκ παρασκευῆς ἐμηνύετο*, 'by collusion, or arrangement,' here with the gen. abs.

17. *ἐπὶ Ταίναρον*—the shrine of Poseidon on Taenarus was sanctuary (asylum).

18. *σκηνησαμένου*—both *σκηνᾶσθαι* and *σκηνεῖσθαι* are elsewhere intrans., but here the sense must be trans.: hence Madvig proposed *σκενασαμένου*, and one inferior ms. gives *σκηνωσαμένου*: Stein reads *ἐς διπλῆν*.

19. *τῶν [τε]*—the *τε* has no correlative and is no doubt spurious.

23. *τὰ τε . . . καὶ τάλλ' ἀποφαίνοντος*—the position of *τε* shows that *ἀποφαίνοντος* is added by an afterthought.

24. *ώς οὐδὲν . . . παραβάλοιτο*—'that he had never hazarded P.'s interests'—a gambling term.

26. *προτιμηθεῖη δέ*—ironical: this was all the reward 'he had got. *ἴν* [*ἴσω* = *ὅμοιως*].

PAGE 118.

2. *πίστιν . . . ἀναστάσεως*—'pledging his word for his departure from the temple,' sc. in safety. (*ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ* is perhaps a commentator's note on *τῆς ἀναστάσεως*.)

4. *τὰ πρασσόμενα*—the negotiations with the king. The sentence here concluded is a remarkable instance of the partiality of Thuc. for the circumstantial participle.

12. *δηλώσαντος*—sc. what was about to happen. *εὖνοις* is dat. of cause.

19. *ἴνδον δύτα*—i.e. making sure that he was in the *oiketa*.

21. ἔξεπολιόρκησαν—the terms are taken from the starving out of a city.

22. ὥσπερ εἶχεν—‘as he was,’ ‘in his present condition,’ i.e. shut up in the building; cf. e.g. ii. 46. (In vi. 57, 3 I accepted Krüger’s version ‘forthwith’; but I agree with Steup that this is wrong.) If he had ‘expired’ inside, the holy place would have been profaned.

25. τὸν Καιάδαν—the exact site of this ravine called Caeadas is not known: it was in the hills near Sparta. *καλατα*, crevices produced by earthquake, were so common in Laconia that Sparta is called *καιετάσσα* in Homer.

26. οὐπέρ τοὺς κακούργους—the Schol. is ἐμβαλεῖν δηλονότι (*scilicet*). τόπος ὁ Κέαδας δρωρυγμένος ἐν Λακωνικῇ, ὅπου τοὺς κακούργους εἰώθασι βιττεῖν. The words of this note have got mixed with the text in the MSS. in several ways, and it is very probable that οὐπέρ τοὺς κακούργους is due to the note. (οὐπέρ ought to be *οὐπέρ*, but this error—which is common in MSS.—does not count against the genuineness of the words. Volgraff first bracketed them.)

PAGE 119.

2. οὐπέρ—the omitted antecedent is ἔκεισε.

3. προτεμενίσματι—ό πρὸ . . τοῦ τεμένους τόπος (Schol.) until then unconsecrated.

4. δ—i.e. τὸ τὸν τάφον κεῖσθαι ἐν τῷ π.

ώς κτλ.—accus. abs.

7. ἀνδριάντας—not necessarily statues of Pausanias; but symbolic figures consecrated to the gods of the upper world.

15. τοῖς αὐτοῖς—i.e. θανάτῳ.

16. ἔτυχε γὰρ ὁστρακισμένος—when this had happened is unknown; 471 B.C. is generally favoured in spite of the statement in *Ath. Pol.* that Them. was at Athens in 462 B.C.: the year depends upon other events such as the reduction of Naxos (see c. 137, 2)—of which the date is uncertain. For a discussion see Sandys on *Ath. Pol.* c. 25.

20. ἀγειν—sc. to Athens.

23. εὐεργέτης—by some official act, probably in some dispute with another state, according to Plutarch with Corinth. In all such decrees of honour conferred on a ξένος a clause giving him ἀσυλία was contained; and on this clause Them. relied.

23. **αὐτῶν**—the Coreyreans; for this idiom cf. c. 34, 4.

26. **ἀπέχθεσθαι**—*έχθρος* (leg. *έχθροις*) *γενέσθαι* (Schol.). The MSS. *ἀπέχθεσθαι* assumes a pres. form *ἀπέχθομαι*: similarly in vii. 75 ABEFM give *αισθεσθαι* as from *αισθομαι*, but CG have *αισθέσθαι*: in Eur. *Phoen.* 300 the MSS. have *θίγειν* as from *θίγω* (*θιγγάνω*). But that these only occur in forms that may be aorists is very suspicious: with other such double forms—e.g. *αἴξω* beside *αἴξανω*—the indie. forms occur.

28. **κατὰ πίστιν ἢ Χ.**—‘in accordance with inquiry as to the road he took.’ The opt. is iterative.

PAGE 120.

2. **Μολοσσῶν**—in Epirus. What the ‘difficulty’ was that led Them. to one who was ‘no friend of his’ is not explained.

5. **καθέζεσθαι**—aor. in sense: the mid. form *καθίζομαι* is not used.

7. **οὐκ ἀξιοῖ**—‘asks him not to . . .’

8. **Ἀθηναῖον δεομένῳ**—Them. must have opposed a request from Admetus for Athenian help.

9. **καὶ γὰρ ἀν κτλ.**—‘for at the present time I might be ill-treated by one far weaker than you (*έκεινοι* = *ἡ ἔκεινος*, depending on *ἀσθενεστέρου*): but it is generous (like a gentleman) to take vengeance on equals (not on inferiors and when equal to them (and not stronger).’ This curious form of appeal must be the invention of Thuc.; and we may doubt whether it would have moved such a king.

13. **χρέας τινός**—‘in reference to,’ the gen. of separation parallel to *ἐς τὸ σ. σώζεσθαι*.

ἐς τὸ σῶμα σώζεσθαι—lit. ‘with reference to preserving his life,’ i.e. in a matter of life and death. *σώζεσθαι* is mid. Recent edd. take *τὸ* with *σώζεσθαι*: but it is possible Poppo was right in supposing that in cases like the present the single article does double duty. Cf. Plat. *Gorg.* p. 489 C *μηδενὸς ἀξιοὶ πλὴν τοις τῷ σώματι ισχυρίσασθαι*. Note that *ψυχὴ* below, corresponding to *σῶμα*, has the article.

16. **ἀποστερῆσαι ἀν**—‘would withhold’; this is the proper sense of *ἀποστερεῖν*, and hence *σωτηρίας* is required.

18. **ἄσπερ καὶ**—the *καὶ* marks the connexion of the two acts. *ἀνιστῆσθαι*—*ἐκαθέξετο*. *ἴχων αὐτόν*=*μετ’ αὐτοῦ*. Notice the extreme solemnity of supplication by the life of the child.

19. καὶ μέγιστον ἦν οἱ τοῦτο—parenthetical.

23. ἐτέραν—the Aegean.

24. τὴν Ἀ.—sc. πόλιν. This Alexander was father of Perdiccas (see c. 57). Thuc. calls the town 'Alexander's' because it lay south of Macedon proper. Its status caused difficulty at various times, for it never fully acquiesced in Macedonian rule till conquered by Philip the Great.

26. χειμῶνι—the wind was *north*, and unless the captain tacked would carry the ship right into Naxos.

27. δ ἐπολιόρκει Νάξον—the accession of Artaxerxes, who had lately ascended the throne when Them. arrived (see § 4) took place in 465 B.C. Hence, to make the dates suit, the siege of Naxos was assigned by Schäfer to 466 B.C.; but, judging from the narrative of cc. 89–90, this leaves too short an interval between the siege of Naxos and the death of Xerxes; for Eurymedon was fought before the latter event, and yet, apparently, some time after the revolt of Naxos. Hence other modern authorities assign the siege of Naxos to 468, 470 or even 473 B.C. But then the narrative here cannot be correct. In Plut. *Them.* 25, where this passage is used, some MSS. have Θάσον for Νάξον: and this would suit here better (see c. 100, 2); but there may be a mistake on Thuc.'s part.

PAGE 121.

4. τὴν δὲ ἀσφάλειαν εἶναι—i.e. 'his safety depended on.'

5. μέχρι—with μέχρι, μέχρι οὐ and πρίν Thuc. occasionally uses subj. without *ἀν* according to the older idiom; but ἔως with plain subj. does not occur.

πλοῦς—'until fair weather came,' in contrast with χειμῶν above: this and not 'until he sailed' seems to be the sense; πλοῦς=εὕπλοια, as also in iii. 3 πλῷ χρησάμενος καὶ τριταῖς ἀφικόμενος.

6. ἀπομνήσεσθαι—the ordinary fut. in Attic is μνησθήσομαι, but Herod. uses μνήσομαι.

11. αὐτῷ—for the poetical use of dat. after ἦλθε cf. c. 13, 3. The aor. is pluperf. in sense, and ὕστερον means after his flight. At Athens his goods were confiscated so far as they were found, because he was a traitor.

13. κάτω . . ἀνω—as in ἀνά-βασις and κατά-βασις.

15. νεωστὶ βασιλεύοντα—for νεωστὶ with imperf. partic. cf. iii. 20 ἀνδρῶν νεωστὶ πόλιν ἔχοντων.

δπι—this convenient form of quasi-oblique speech, where the speaker's actual words follow δπι, occurs only in prose.

17. ὑμέτερον—referring of course to the royal family.

18. ἐπιώντα ἐμοί—*a fine touch due to self-confidence.*

20. ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ μὲν κτλ.—'when he retreated (*πάλιν* belongs to ἀποκομδή) himself in danger, while I was in safety.'

22. γράψας—referring to'; cf. c. 87, 2, but here the constn. is κατὰ σίνεσιν after ἐδήλου ἡ γραφή.

τὴν ἐκ Σ. προάγγελσιν τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως—Herod. viii. 110 relates that Themistocles sent a message to Xerxes saying that he had persuaded the Greeks not to break down the bridges over the Hellespont, and consequently the king might retreat at leisure. The story agrees with Thuc. here, except that Herod. says the message was sent from Andros, not Salamis. The true object of Them. was to cause Xerxes to retreat rapidly, since Xerxes had been once taken in by a false message from Them. (viz. that the Greeks were about to retreat from Salamis, Herod. viii. 75) and would be sure to assume this one also was false. Them. now misrepresents the object he had had in sending the message. (Haacke and others refer τὴν . . ἀναχωρήσεως to the *earlier* message of Them., viz., that the Greeks were about to withdraw from Salamis. By this message Them. caused the defeat of the king; by the *later* one he rescued the king. This explanation seems simpler; but it looks as if the parenthesis γράψας . . διάλυσιν refers only to what Them. pretends to have done to *serve* the king.)

24. ἦν ψευδῶς προσποιήσατο—Herod. says Them. urged the Gk. fleet to break down the bridges, but he was opposed by the Peloponnesians. The Athenian fleet was then willing to go alone, but this Them. successfully opposed. It looks as if Thuc. did not believe in this last part of the story. (Croiset understands 'which he misrepresented,' others avoid the appearance of an inconsistency with Herod.)

25. οὐ διάλυσιν—cf. e.g. iii. 95, 2 τὴν οὐ περιτείχισιν : vii. 34 τὴν τῶν Κορινθίων οὐκέτι ἐπαναγωγήν.

27. τὴν σὴν φιλίαν—'my friendship for you.'

12. πεῖραν διδούς—so πεῖραν λαμβάνω.

13. ἦν γὰρ . . δηλώσας καὶ . . ἀξιος—the aor. partic. with *ἦν* is here joined to an adj. with *ἦν*: the constn. is unusual, and some edd. place *βεβαιώτατα* . . δηλώσας between commas, taking *καὶ* as emphasising διαφερόντως *τι*. Transl. 'Them. was in fact one who showed most convincingly natural powers, and he was beyond all others worthy of the very highest admiration in this respect.' *ἐσ* *αὐτό* refers to φύσεως *ἰσχύν*: διαφερόντως *τι* belongs to θαυμάσαι: for μᾶλλον ἔτερου cf. c. 84, 2 *ἥσσον ἔτερων*.

14. φύσεως *ἰσχύν*—Thuc. evidently holds with the old view, as against the sophists, that φύσις is superior to μάθησις.

15. *ἐσ* *αὐτό*—*ἐσ* *τὸ* *ξύνετδν* *φαίνεσθαι*.

16. οὐτε προμαθὼν . . οὐτ' ἐπιμαθών—'not aiding it (*τὴν ξύνεσιν*) by any knowledge acquired before or after,' i.e. either by *learning* or by *experience*. (What time is alluded to in the προ- and ἐπι-? Some say his entry into public life, others, much better, the time when he gave any advice derived from this *ξύνεσις*—but interpret, 'his opinion was not based on previous knowledge, nor, after giving it, had he to modify it because he found he was wrong.' Neither verb occurs elsewhere in Thuc. Croiset sees an allusion to Prometheus and Epimetheus.)

18. δι' ἐλαχίστης βουλής—'with the least consideration.'

19. ἐπὶ πλείστον τοῦ γενησομένου—those edd. who connect these words understand 'to the remotest future,' so that *ἐπὶ πλείστον* refers to *time*: the objection lies in the *sing.* *τοῦ γενησομένου* after the *plur.* *μελλόντων*, and so some think it spurious, others join *τοῦ γενησομένου* to *τῶν μελλόντων*, which is very forced. But all difficulty disappears if we understand by *τὸ γενησόμενον* 'the particular event that was going to happen' and take *ἐπὶ πλείστον* of extent, as in *ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀνθρώπων* in c. 1, 2, so that the whole phrase emphasises only the extraordinary accuracy of his *εἰκασία*: 'his forecasts of the future were the best, in every event proving more accurate than those of others.' *ἐπὶ π. τοῦ γεν.* is lit. 'so as to cover the greatest part (i.e. a greater part than any one else) of just that which was coming.'

20. μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχοι—so Aeschines 1, 70 *ἀ νυνὶ μετὰ χ. ἔχετε: = μεταχειρίζοιτο.*

21. ἔξηγήσασθαι—'expound his views on it.'

ῶν δ' ἀπειρος εἶη in contrast with *ἀ μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχοι*= 'that which he took no personal share in.'

22. οὐκ ἀπήλλακτο—‘he did not fail to,’ ‘was not without the power’; in later prose we should have *τοῦ*.—Them. lived before the days of developed oratory.

23. τὸ τε ἀμεινον ἡ χεῖρον—‘the advantage or disadvantage’ of any proposed step.

24. τὸ ξύμπαν εἰπεῖν—parenthetical inf., *τὸ* belonging to *ξύμπαν*.

25. μελέτης δὲ βραχύτητος—‘with the shortest preparation,’ a second way in which he showed his power of hitting on the right thing in a minute. The two phrases are not really quite parallel.

28. φαρμάκῳ—the story was that he drank bull’s blood: Thuc. evidently thinks it a foolish tale, Aristoph. *Eq.* 83.

PAGE 123.

4. ἔρτον . . . οἶνον . . . δόψον—according to a Persian custom: cf. Plat. *Alc.* i. p. 123 b ‘he said (the person meant is perhaps Xenophon) he passed a district which the inhabitants called ζωνὴν τῆς Βασιλέως γηνακός: and another called “the mirror” . . . καὶ οὐόματ’ ἔχειν ἐκάστους τῶν τόπων ἀπὸ ἐκάστου τῶν κόσμων.’ Lampsacus and Myus belonged to the Delian League, so Them. cannot have actually enjoyed their revenues.

8. οἱ προσήκοντες—Cleopantus, a son of Them., lived at Athens. In later times the grave of Them. was located at the entry to Piraeus.

21. προύλεγον . . . μή—in the terms of an ultimatum it is not surprising to see *μή* where *οὐ* would be ordinarily used: *προλέγω* contains a meaning of *advice* or *warning*. For the Megarian decree and Aegina see c. 67.

27. ἐπεργασίαν—ἐπι- denotes encroachment, as in *ἐπινέμοματ*.

τῆς ιερᾶς—‘he means the land between Megara and Attica consecrated to the Eleusinian goddesses’ (Schol.).

28. τῆς ἀορίστου—as Mr. Forbes says, this seems to be distinct from *τῆς ιερᾶς*, and may mean an undefined or neutral strip of land.

ἀνδραπόδων ὑποδοχήν—this matter is parodied by Aristoph. in *Athen.* 325 f.: runaway slaves from Attica found a refuge in Megara.

PAGE 124.

6. **ποιήσαντες**—‘having called’ through the officials.

7. **γνώμας σφίσιν αὐτοῖς προυτίθεσαν**—‘opened a debate,’ a technical phrase applying properly to the president of the ecclesia (ἐπιστάτης), who allowed the discussion.

10. **ἐπ’ ἀμφότερα γιγνόμενοι**—‘ranging themselves on both sides,’ i.e. some taking the one view, some the other.

11. **ώς (χρή) μὴ ἐ**—generally ἐμπόδιος takes dat. of person.

14. **λέγειν τε καὶ π. δ.**—this explains *πρῶτος*, and always denotes capacity for public affairs.

19. **όργη**—‘spirit’; their ardour cools when they have to carry out their resolution.

21. **τὰς ἔμφοράς** = *τὰ συμβαίνοντα*, ‘events’; so below.

τρεπομένους—passive.

22. **όμοια καὶ παραπλήσια**—these occur together several times, without substantial difference of sense.

24. **τοῖς κ. δόξασιν**—fut. perf. in sense = *δὲ* *δόξη*.

27. **τὰς ἔμφορὰς τῶν π.**—‘the issues of things (lit. “events following from affairs”) can be as incomprehensible in their course as man’s thoughts,’ so that failure is no proof that a resolution was wrong.

29. **ὅσα δὲ**—‘whenever anything’ = (*ἐν πᾶσιν*) *ὅσα δὲ*.

PAGE 125.

3. **εἰρημένον**—in the thirty years’ peace.

δίκας διδόναι καὶ δ.—cf. c. 28, 2. The best MSS. give διαφορῶν from διαφορά: the parallel passages, as cc. 56, 1 and 78, 4 favour διαφόρων from διάφορος, but cf. cc. 23, 5, 146.

8. **διαλύεσθαι**—middle.

12. **τελευταῖοι**—pred. with *ἥκουτες*.

15. **περὶ βραχέος**—‘about a trifle’; cf. c. 78, 1.

16. **ὅπερ**—accus. *de quo*, becoming the subject of *καθαιρεθεῖη*. *προύχονται* = *προφασίζονται*.

18. **ὑπολιπησθε**—after the war has begun.

20. **ἔχει**—‘involves’: *ὑμῶν* depends on *γνώμης*: ‘the con-

firmation and trial of your resolution' are explained in chiastic order by the two clauses that follow.

21. *οἰς*—masc. = *ἐκείνοις γάρ*.

24. *σαφὲς ἀν κ.*—'make it clear to them' that they must deal with you on an equal footing rather than as superiors.

28. *καὶ ἐπὶ μεγάλῃ καὶ ἐ β. π.*—'be the reason great or small' for yielding. The constn. changes from infin. *ὑπακούειν* to partic. *εἰχοντες . . ἔχοντες*, 'with the intention of not.' It would be more usual, but it can hardly be necessary, to have *ὡς* after *προφάσει*.

PAGE 126.

3. *ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμοίων*—masc.

4. *πρὸ δίκης*—'before,' meaning instead of proceeding by arbitration. Cf. Dem. 23, 28 *ἀν ἀφέληται τις . . μὴ βούλομενος πρὸ δίκης ἐκδοῦναι*.

τοῖς πέλας—cf. c. 32, 1.

5. *τὰ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου κτλ.*—object of *ἀκούοντες*, but its position gives it the effect of an accus. of respect.

8. *αὐτουργοί*—*οἱ ἑαυτῶν τὴν γῆν ἐργαζόμενοι σπάνει δούλων* (Schol.).

11. *βραχέως*—'only for a short time.' The object of *ἐπιφέρειν* is *πολέμους*.

13. *ναῦς πληροῦντες* = *ναῦς ἀς πληροῦσιν*. Several edd. accept the conjecture *πληροῦν*, which is very probable. In Plat. *Gorg.* p. 494 c *πληροῦντα* is probably a corruption of *πληροῦν*. Apart from the awkward constn. here there seems to be no point in *πληροῦντες*.

15. *ἀπόντες*—the three partic. are *causal*, and the full meaning is 'since to do that (*ναῦς . . ἐκπέμπειν*) involves to them (1) absence from their lands'—(cf. the opposite *ἐπὶ τῶν ιδίων εἶναι* *Ath. Pol.* c. 15), (2) paying the expenses out of their own money instead of getting it from the state, and (3) being chased off the seas by the Athenians.

16. *αἱ δὲ περιουσίαι*—this sentence has direct reference to the financial condition of Athens. The policy of Pericles was to accumulate a reserve, so that the *εἰσφορά*—war-tax on property—was seldom levied: but the Pel. would depend on such a tax; see c. 121, 4. *βίαιοι* (like *βέβαιος* always of two

terms. in Thuc.) is a descriptive epithet to *εἰσφοραῖς* in general: they are not free gifts (*ἐπιδόσεις*).

18. **σώμαστι**—cf. c. 121, 3.

20. **τὸ μὲν κτλ.**—**τὸ μὲν . . . τὸ δέ** apply to **σώμασι** . . . **χρήμασι**, **πιστόν** and **βέβαιον** being pred. : lit. ‘having in the one a possession they can rely on—viz. that it may come safe out of the dangers; but in the other a belonging for which they have no security that they will not spend it before the war ceases.’

26. **μὴ πρὸς ὄμοιαν ἀ.**—‘against a power differing in character’ from theirs. The **μὴ** under the influence of the infin.

ὅταν—‘so long as’; cf. c. 142, 1.

PAGE 127.

1. **οὐχ ὄμόφυλοι**—not all Dorians: of course the Athenian allies were not **όμόφυλοι** (ii. 9, 4), but they were all under the guidance of Athens.

τὸ ἐφ' ἔαυτὸν & **σπεύδῃ**—the verb attracted to **ἔκαστος**: **τὸ ἐφ' ἐ.**, ‘what concerns himself’ is object of **σπεύδῃ**. But generally **τὸ ἐπὶ** and accus. (1) is adverbial, (2) means ‘as far as concerns,’ or ‘depends on.’

2. **μηδέν** belongs to the inf.

5. **ἐν βραχεῖ μὲν μορίῳ**—sc. of the whole time spent in the meeting. **ἐν** extends over **τῷ πλέονι**.

7. **παρά**—‘owing to’; this use is common in Demosth., and cf. Aeschines ii. 80 **παρὰ τοῦτο διαφθαρῆναι, ὅτι . . .**: iii. 80 **παρὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἥλθεν, ὅτι . . .**

8. **βλάψειν**—sc. **τὰ κοινά**.

9. **ὑπέρ**—‘in place of’

12. **μέγιστον** = **δ μέγιστόν ἔστι**.

15. **μενετοί**—act. ; Aeschines 3, 163 **ρητορικήν δειλίαν δημόσιος καιρὸς οὐκ ἀναμένει**: Demosth. 4, 37 al **τῶν πραγμάτων οὐ μένουσι καιρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν βραδυτήτα**.

17. **τὴν μὲν γὰρ κτλ.**—this is taken in two ways: (1) **τὴν μὲν** object of **παρασκευάσασθαι** and **πόλιν ἀντίπαλον** in apposition = **ῶστε γενέσθαι πόλιν ἀντίπαλον** (Krieger etc.): (2) **τὴν μὲν** accus. of respect, ‘as regards the one’ (Shilleto, Classen, etc.). The sense is clearly given by Arnold: ‘Pericles is distinguishing

between two different methods of *ἐπιτείχισις*, the one by founding a city in the neighbourhood of Athens strong enough to interfere with her trade and be a check on her power, *πόλις ἀντίπαλον*: the other by merely raising one or two forts in Attica, as strongholds for plundering parties to keep the country in constant annoyance and alarm, *φρούριον*. The only difficulty is that *ἐπιτείχισις* is nowhere found of a rival city founded in *time of peace*; hence (2) is probably the constn. intended.

18. *ἡ που δῆ*—‘of course,’ then, sc. *χαλεπόν ἔστι*.

19. *ἐκείνοις ἡμῶν ἀντεπιτείχισμένων*—this seems to refer to the certainty that Athens would reply to an *ἐπιτείχισις* by taking similar measures in Peloponnesian territory (Pylus, Cythera): hence we look for a future; and *ἀντεπιτείχισμένων*, *ἀντεπιτείχισμον* or the insertion of *αὐ* has been proposed. Another view is that Athens herself is meant: she is already standing as an *ἐπιτείχισις* threatening any post that Sparta might establish in Attica. Since an *ἐπιτείχισις* always occurs in an enemy’s country, this could only be justified by supposing that Pericles uses the term loosely for the sake of the antithesis. But it certainly looks as if something to be done by Athens is meant.

22. *αὐτομολίαις*—by encouraging the slaves in Attica to desert to them. This actually happened in the case of Decelea in after years.

25. *πλέον γὰρ ἔχομεν κτλ.*—*ἐμπειρίας* depends on *πλέον ἔχομεν*, ‘we have more experience of land operations through our naval experience than they have in naval operations from their service on land.’ Pericles alludes to the use of Athenian fleets on hostile coasts in connexion with descents on the land (*ἀποθάσσεις*). The knowledge of the Pel. coast-line would enable them to choose the right point for an *ἐπιτείχισις*.

28. *τὸ δέ*—the *δέ* answers the *μέν* of § 3.

PAGE 128.

2. *αὐτός*—*τὸ ναυτικόν*.

6. *ἐφορμεῖσθαι*—‘being blockaded.’

9. *ἐν τῷ μὴ μελετῶντι*—*ἐν* = ‘owing to,’ as often; for the neut. partic. with art. as subst. cf. *τὸ δεδίος αὐτοῦ* c. 36, 1.

13. *ὅταν τύχῃ*—‘as occasion arises,’ i.e. casually.

ἄλλα μᾶλλον—sc. *δεῖ*.

15. **κινήσαντες**—cf. c. 93, 2.

19. **ἐσβάντων**—‘in case we embark.’ The two highest classes of citizens—*τιπεῖς* and *πεντακοσιομέδιμνοι*—served on board only on occasions of great danger. The citizen crews consisted ordinarily of *ζευγῖται* and *θῆτες*.

20. **τόδε**—i.e. *τὸ ἀντιπάλους εἶναι κτλ.*

21. **κυβερνήτας**—pred.

22. **ὑπηρεσίαν**—‘crews,’ collective, hence the plur. in agreement.

24. **τὴν τε αὐτοῦ**—he would not again be able to set foot in his own city since it was part of the Athenian empire.

26. **ἔνεκα** governs *δόσεως*: *δλίγων ἡμερῶν* depends on *μοσθοῦ*. Pericles assumes that the Pel. fleet would not be able to keep the sea for any considerable time.

PAGE 129.

3. **οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵσου μεγάλα**—lit. ‘other important things (*μεγάλα*) on a greater scale,’ i.e. ‘have the advantage of them in other important matters.’ This refers back to what has preceded, and is not further explained, for Thuc. does not here want to give a detailed account of the Athenian position: this is done in the second book. The ref., as Steup says, is especially to the fleet.

6. **οὐκέτι ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου**—‘then it will turn out that it is much worse.’

13. **ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τούτου**—i.e. putting ourselves in thought as nearly as possible in the position of islanders.

14. **οἰκίας**—those outside Athens. During the invasions the population of Attica had to crowd into the city, as Athens could not bring into the field an army strong enough to oppose the Pel. invading force.

17. **όργισθέντας**—we must not let our indignation at our losses drive us into a decisive action with a superior enemy.

20. **προσαπόλλυται**—for the pres. in fut. sense cf. c. 121, 4 *ἀλίσκονται*.

ήσυχάσουσι—sc. *οἱ ξύμμαχοι*: they will join the enemy.

25. **κτῶνται**—‘gain,’ meaning with *ἄνδρας* ‘produce.’

PAGE 130.

1. *ἐσ* ἀλπίδα—*és* is properly ‘bearing on,’ ‘tending to,’ as in *λέγειν τι εἰς τὸ πρᾶγμα* (Demosth. 57, 7) etc.

2. *Ἴν* ἔθελητε—all this is prophetic, if, as is almost certain, it was really said by Pericles and not put into his mouth by Thuc. after the event.

7. *ἔκεινα μέν*—i.e. advice as to the conduct of the war, which is best given during the war itself. For the present (*νῦν δέ*) our course is clear.

11. *ξενηλασίας*—these expulsions took place from time to time, no doubt by order of the ephors. Plato suggests ironically that the Spartans used them when they wanted privacy for the study of philosophy; Xenophon says they feared corruption of the traditional character by contact with *ξένοι*. *ποιῶσι*, of course, ‘enact’ in their laws.

12. *οὐτε γάρ ἔκεινο κωλύει*—*οὐ κωλύει* ‘there is no hindrance to’ stands for *οὐδέν κωλύει* in Aristoph. *Av.* 463, and in two or three passages from later authors. Hence there is probably no need to insert *οὐδέν* here. *ἔκεινο* . . . *τόδε*=the *ξενηλασίαι* and *Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα*—there is as little to forbid the one as the other in the thirty years’ truce.

16. *σφίσιν ἐπιτηδείως*—see c. 19; alluding to the form of constitution. The Schol. says he thinks *τοῦ Λ.* is a gloss on *σφίσι*.

18. *αὐτοῖς ἐκάστοις*—sc. *ἐπιτηδείως*.

20. *ἀρξομεν, ἀρχομένους*—‘we will not be the first to fight, but if they enter on a war, we will retaliate.’ The difference between *ἀρχω* and *ἀρχομαι* is not important to the sense, but it has a rhetorical effect.

PAGE 131.

2. *γνώμη*—‘insight’: frequently contrasted with *τύχη*.

4. *ἐσ* τάδε προήγαγον αὐτά—‘brought our empire to this’; repeated almost in the same words by Alcibiades in vi. 18.

ῶν=*τῶν πατέρων*.

13. *τὸ ξύμπαν*—in contrast with *καθ’ ἔκαστα ὡς ἔφρασε*.

15. ἐπὶ θυγ καὶ ὁμοῖο—c. 27, 1.

17. αἰτίαι δέ—taking up c. 23, 5.

22. ἀκηρύκτως—there could be no communication without a herald after war had begun. At ἀκηρύκτως, with which strictly the sentence should end, Thuc. suddenly adds a qualification.

GREEK INDEX

•*. The reference is to the page on which the note appears.

A

ἀβροδίαιτος 145
 ἀγρὰ θύματα 252
 ἀγος 251
 ἀγώνισμα 170
 ἀδεῆς 'not feared' 184
 ἀδικεῖν 219
alei with *τις* and adj. 135
αιρεῖν 'defeat' or 'capture' 154
αισθάνεσθαι 'be intelligent' 211
αἰτία 171, 203, 208, 272; *ἐν αἰτίᾳ* ἔχειν 182
αἰτιος with infin. 214; *αἰτιον* as subst. 153
 ἀκίνητα νόμιμα 211
 ἀκρίβεια 169
 ἀκριβῶς πρόσσειν 233
 ἀλιτήριος 253
 ἀλλά in altercation 220
 ἀμαθία 224
 ἀμεινὸν ἔστι 243, 252
 ἀμνεσθαι and ἀμείβεσθαι 190
 ἀμφότερος 158; *ἐπ'* ἀμφότερα 222; *κατ'* ἀ. 159
 ἀνάγκαι 'coercive measures' 233
 ἀναγκαῖος 137, 208, 224
 ἀνακαλῶ 141
 ἀναχώρησις 'place of retreat' 227

ἀνεμον τηρεῖν 203
 ἀντειπεῖν 'propose in opposition' 189
 ἀντικρὺς 247
 ἀντλούσια 179, 212
 ἀντίπαλος 'only equal' 247
 ἀξιολογώτατος τῶν προγεγενημένων 133
 ἀξιωσις 'claim' 185; 'reputation' 206
 ἀπέχει and ἀπεῖχε 201
 ἀπεχθέσθαι and ἀπέχθεσθαι 261; ἀπήχθησθε and ἀπήχθεσθε 215
 ἀπηλλάχθαι 'lack' 265
 ἀπίστως for ὅστε ἀπίστα εἶναι 168
 ἀπό: ἀ. τοῦ ισον 270; ἀ. τοῦ ἀνθρωπείον τρόπον 216; ἀ. παρασκευῆς 259; ἀ. ἔχυροῦ ὄρμασθαι 227; ἀφ' οὐ 145, 160; ἀφ' ὅν 156; ἀ. πρώτης 217
 ἀποβάλλειν 201
 ἀποδασμός 156
 ἀποδεικνύειν 'point to' 175
 ἀποζῆν 136
 ἀπολαμβάνειν 146
 ἀπομνήσομαι 262
 ἀπόστασις 189

ἀποστερεῖν 188, 206, 261
 ἀποτειχίζειν 203
 ἀποχρῆσθαι 206
 ἀρέσκειν 186; mid. 182; pass.
 256
 ἀρετή 'fertility' 137
 ἀριστος : ἡ ἀρίστη τῆς γῆς 137
 ἀρχή 230, 232; ἀρχαῖ 227
 ἀρχω and ἀρχομαι 271
 ἀσθενής 143
 ἀσφαλής 207
 ἀτείχιστος 'not walled off' 202
 ἀδέξησις glossed by δύναμις 207
 αὐτερέτης 152
 αὐτομολίαι 269
 αὐτός and ἔκεινος of the same
 person 258
 αὐτονύργος 267
 αὐτῶν = ἡμέτερα αὐτῶν 221
 ἀφνείος 158

B

βασιλεία 161
 βέβαιος 180
 βελτίων λόγος 236
 βίᾳ 154, 235
 βιάζομαι 135, 218
 βίος 'livelihood' 143
 βουλόμενον, τό 226
 βραχέως 267
 βραχύς 218, 226, 256; ἐπὶ
 βραχύ 242; περὶ βραχέος
 266; ἐπὶ βραχεῖᾳ προφάσει
 267

Γ

γάρ, explanatory 134; γάρ and
 δέ 189
 γενησόμενον, τό 264
 γέρα 174
 γνώμη 208; 'legal decision'
 217; γνώμην ποιεῖσθαι 205;
 γνώμης παραίνεσις 229; γνώ-
 μας προτιθέναι 266; γνώμη)(
 σώματα 209

γνώσομαι 'shall adopt a policy'
 218
 γοῦν 137, 166 215

Δ

δέ in apodosis 154; δ' οὖν and
 γοῦν 201
 δεδιός, τό 183
 δέκα and τέσσαρες 199
 δηλοῦν 221; with partic. 168
 διά: δ. κινδύνων ἔχειν 191; διά
 ἀσφαλείας 162; διὰ πλείονος
)(αὐτίκα 250
 διαιρεῖν 224
 διάλυσις 263
 διανοεῖσθαι with ellipse of infin.
 134
 Διάστια 252
 διαφέρειν 208
 διάφορος 198; τὰ διάφορα 205
 διαχείρισις πραγμάτων 232
 διεκπλεῖν 195
 διεκπλοῦς 194
 δίκας διδόναι 176, 266
 δίοτι 'why' 217
 διπλάσιος ἡ 151
 δίχα ψηφίζεσθαι 189
 δοκεῖ with different constrs. 139
 δουλεία 147
 δουλεύειν τῇ γῇ 220
 δύναμις, concrete 172, 181
 δύναται μάλιστα εἶναι 'may be
 called' 223
 δυοῦν ἀμαρτεῖν 181

Ε

έāν with ellipse of infin. 210
 έαντῶν πλουσιώτεροι 147
 εἰ μή εἰ 162; εἰ with opt. in a
 γνώμη 244
 εἰσον οὐ 146
 ἐκ for ὑπό 166; ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος
 182; ἐξ ἵσου νέμειν 243

ἐκπικάν 168
 ἐλασσούσθαι 'be at a disadvantage' 216
 Ἐλληνοταμιαὶ 232
 ἐλπίζω 133
 ἐν δόδήλῳ κινδυνεύεσθαι 218; ἐν ἀπόρῳ ἔχεσθαι 173; ἐν ἵσῳ 259; ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοι 144; ἐν πόρῳ κεῖσθαι 244; ἐν οἷς 'before' or 'among whom' 205; ἐν πλέονι, of time 212
 ἐναγής 253
 ἐναλλαγῆναι 244
 ἐνδεές, τό 217
 ἐνεῖναι 220
 ἐπτομή 230
 ἐπτότης, of place 162
 ἐξαρτυσθεῖαι and -ώμεθαι 246
 ἐξῆς with τὰ 166
 ἐξιέναι, Ionic use of 192
 ἐπάγειν ψῆφον 225
 ἐπειδή after χρόνος 145
 ἐπελθεῖν 209
 ἐπεσθαι 190
 ἐπηλυς 148
 ἐπί: ἐ. μακρότερον 135; ἐ. πολύ, of time 137, 145; of space 140, 163, 201; ἐ. τὸ αὐθίδες 'in the direction of' or 'into the region of' 168; τὸ ἐφ' ἐαυτῷ 268; ἐ. τῷ σεμνών θεῶν 253; ἐ. φανεροῖς 206; ἐπ' ὀφελίᾳ 140, 213; ἐ. μεγάλῃ προφάσει 267; ἐ. τῇ ἵσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ 175
 ἐπιβονλή and ἐπιβολή 231
 ἐπιγρῶναι 208
 ἐπιδημουργός 198
 ἐπιεικές, τό 216
 ἐπικράτησις 189
 ἐπιμαχία 192
 ἐπιμηγνύναι 136
 ἐπιπαριέναι 200
 ἐπιστρέφαντες and ἐπὶ Στρεψάν τε 200
 ἐπιφοιτᾶν 220

ἐπιχρῆσθαι 189
 ἐρωτᾶν τὰς τύστεις 143
 ἐς: ἐς ἵσον καθιστάναι 187; ἐς τὸ παραχρῆμα ἀκούειν 170; ἐς τὸ φανερόν 146; ἐς τὸ σῶμα σώζεσθαι 261
 ἐσβάλλειν 193
 ἐσγράφεσθαι 179
 ἐτερος with gen. 176
 ἐτοίμας 220
 ἐτῶν δύο καὶ τριῶν 221
 εὐεργεστας προνθεμειν 179; εὐεργεσία κεῖται σοι 255
 εὐεργετεῖν 260
 εὐθὺς ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ 139
 εὐνομείσθαι 163
 ἐφόδος 'intercourse' 144
 ἔχειν ἐν θεραπείᾳ 197; ἐ. τὸ πλέον 191; ἔσχον 'restrained from' 239; ἔχεσθαι ἐν ἀπόρῳ 173; ἔχεσθαι 219

Z

ζευγρύναι 177

H

ἵγιησασθαι 'consider' 236

Θ

θύματα 252

I

ἰσθμός 201

ἵσος εἶναι τοῖς παροῦσι 257; τὸ ἵσον νέμειν 210; οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵσου 'on a larger scale' 270

K

καθαιρεῖν 'crush' 142

καθαιρετός and καθαιρετέος 246

καθιστάναι 194, 240 ; καθ-
εστώτος absolute 216
καὶ emphasising a whole phrase
209 ; καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν 225 ;
καὶ ὡς 192 ; 'and in parti-
cular' 161 ; 'in fact' 208
Καιάδας 260
κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα 256
καλῶς κείσθαι with gen. 184
κατά, distributive 140 ; κ. σφᾶς
197 ; τὸ κ. αὐτούς 201 ; κ.
μόνας 180 ; κ. δλιγαρχίαν
165 ; κ. ἡσυχίαν 215 ; κ.
ἐνιαυτόν 229 ; κ. ἐκάστους
140 ; κ. χρόνους 242
καταβοῶν 204
κατακομῆ 244
κατάφαρκτος 153
καταφωρᾶν 221
κατοικεῖσθαι 244
κοινόν, τὸ 220
κοινοῦν and κοινωνεῖν 187
κράτιστος 187
κρίσεις ποιεῖν 217
κράψιλος 145
κωλύω with accus. 182 ; οὐ
κωλύει 271

Λ

λειπεσθαι with gen. 151
λεπτόγεων, τό 137
λίπα 146
λιποστράτιον 233
λογάδες 207
λόγῳ 'in debate' 168

Μ

μακρὰ τείχη 237
μᾶλλον τι 194 ; μᾶλλον ἢ κατά
185
μείζω, τά 146
μέλλησις 207
μέρος, τό 214
μετανίστασθαι 155

μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχειν 264
μετοικία 138
μέχρι οὐ 216 ; μ. τοῦτο ὠρίσθω
211
μή after κωλύματα 161 ; τὸ μή
μυθῶδες 169 ; in prohibition
225 ; apprehension 226 ; with
partic. 242
μήτε . . τε 210

Ν

νέμω 'assign' 210 ; 'control'
243 ; mid. 136
νεοχιμοῦν 155
νόμιμα, of Spartan institutions
211
νόμος 217

Ξ

ξενηλασται 271
ξυγγράφειν 133
ξυμβαίνειν with ellipse of infin.
233
ξυμβόλαιαι δίκαι 216
ξύμμαχοι not technical 226
ξυμφέρεσθαι 148, 170
ξυμφορά 'event' 266
ξυναφίστασθαι 'revolt together'
199
ξυνεξέρχομαι and ξυνέρχομαι 142
ξυντυχία 181

Ο

Ολύμπια ἐπήλθεν or ἐπήλθον
251
όμαιχμα 164
όμοια and ομοιά 174, 246
όραν with different constrs. 196
όργη 247, 266 ; οργῆ φέρειν 179
όσον = ὥστε 136
οὐ after εἰ 246 ; οὐ μὴν οὐδέ 141
οὐτε . . τε 144

δχλος 'population' 220
όψε ἀφ' οὐ 160

Π

παλαιά, τά 139
παπταχοῦ 137
πάντα 140
παρά: π. πολύ 177; αι π.
θάλασσαν 147; 'owing to'
268
παραγγελλόμενα, τά 246
παραγίγνεσθαι 161
παράδειγμα 138
παραμένειν 215
παρασημήνασθαι 258
παρασκευαζόμεθα ορ -ώμεθα 224
παρασκευή 259
παρατιχόν 216
παρόμοιος 219
παρόντα, τά 257
πειράν 195
πεντηκόντορος 159
πέρας: ἐκ περάτων γῆς 207
περί 160, 199, 207
περιβάλλεσθαι τείχη 147
περιστασθαι ἐς 217
περιόντι = περιβόντι 178
περιοράν with infin. 173
περιπίπτειν 191
πιστόν, τό 204
πληροῦντες and πληροῦν 267
πλούς = εὐπλοια 262
πλωμωτέρων δυτων 146
ποθέν, by attraction 227
ποιεῖν 'describe in verse' 152
ποιεῖσθαι 'obtain' 143, 173;
π. πόλεμον 176
πολέμα, τά 165
πολύς: πολλοῦ χρόνου 140; διὰ
πλείονος 250; ὁ πλειότος τοῦ
χρόνου 178
ποταμός 162
πρό: τά πρό αιτῶν 134
προβάλλεσθαι 186
προγίγνεσθαι and προσγίγνε-
σθαι 203

προειπεῖν 175, 191
προκατάρχεσθαι 174
προκινδυνεύειν 213
πρός: π. πολλὰ λέναι 211;
χωρεῖν π. 164
προσκοπεῖν 243
προσπαρακαλεῖν 204
προστυγχάνειν 232
πρότερον ἡ 207
προτιμᾶν, ironical 259
προύχειν 174
πρόφασις 172
προφέρειν 249

Σ

σιδηροφορεῖσθαι 144
σκευὴ Μηδικὴ 256
σκηνάσθαι, -εῖσθαι, -οῦσθαι 259
σκυτάλη 256
σπένδεσθαι 164
σωφροσύνη ἔμφρων 223

Τ

τάσσειν, 'assess' 232; mid. 234
τεῖχος 202, 203
τεκμαρεσθαι, with two con-
structions 134
τεκμήριον 135
τέλη, τά 199
τέττιγες χρυσοῖ 145
τηρεῖν διεμον 203
τίθεσθαι εν 215
τιμωρίαν ποιεῖσθαι 173
τύτε 225, 235
τράπεζα Περσική 256
Τρφάς, as adj. 256
Τρωικά, τά 139
τύραννος πόλις 248
τυγχάνειν 180, 209; τυχόντα ορ
τυχόντων 245

Τ

ὑπάρχειν, 'begin' 229
ὑπειπεῖν 183

ἱπηρεσία 270
ὕποπτος 215, 226
ὑποτοπῆσαι 166
ὕστερον ή 200

Φ

φέρεσθαι 206
φεύγειν 239
φθάνειν 181
φονεύειν 195
φόρος 282
φρουρεῖν 202
φυγαῖ 171
φύσις 264

Χ

χαλεπός 166, 168

Χαλκίοικος 254
χηλή 201
χρῆσθαι of oracles 251
χρόνοι 233, 242
χωρίον 232

Ψ

ψῆφος 167

Ω

ώς εἰπεῖν 134; ὡς εὐνολας ἔχει
169; ὡς καὶ 185
ώσπερ ἔχει 260
ώφελεῖν 222
ώφελία 140, 176, 179, 182, 249

ENGLISH INDEX

A

accusative, adverbial in plural 136; of measure 246
Agamemnon, number of his fleet 152
Alcmaeonidae 253
anacoluthon 139, 171, 173, 210
Andocides, doubt about mention of 196
antithesis, artificial 176, 189
aorist, complexive 133; ingressive 149, 164; timeless 142; for pluperfect 155, 164
apposition, limiting, 139, 163
arbitration 176
Arcadia, primitive character of 137
Archidamus on the war 222
article, distributive 156; omitted 151, 163; not repeated 147; repeated 171; with attributive predicate 172
Athena, temple of, at Sparta 254
Athens, grant of citizenship at 139; oratory at 223; relations to allies 217; fleet of 160; desertion of slaves 269

Attica, barrenness of its soil 137; invasion of 270
attraction of preposition 163; of relative 135, 195, 226; of adjective 137; of adverb 227; of mood 228; of tense 186

B

brachylogy 188

C

chronology of Thuc. 242
Cimon and the Messenian war 236
comparative degree 167
comparison, illogical 133
constructions, two combined 191, 211
co-ordination of dissimilar clauses 138, 134
Coreyra, position of 185
Cylon, story of 251

D

Dasylium 255
dative, poetical use of 262; with $\omega\phi\lambda\omega$ 222; of person judging 153, 172; of cause 194

E

eclipses 171

elision, Aeolic 178
 ellipse of infin. 134
 emphasis secured by order of words 140
 ephors 256
 Eumenides, altars of the 253
 Eurystheus, fate of 148
 example, meaning of, in Greek rhetoric 138

F

fractions 150

G

genitive of definition 246 ; objective 169 ; of sphere 169 ; absolute impersonal 146 ; absolute in place of dative 240 ; of comparison 176 ; order of partitive 193
 Greece, early condition of 138 ; migration in 135

H

Hellenicus 233
 Herodotus and Thuc. 167, 169
 Hipparchus and Hippias 166
 Homer, references to 152, 156 ; Homeric ships 153, 160

I

infinitive of purposes 154 ; restrictive 168
 instrumental case 146
 Ionic uses 164, 166 ; forms 255

L

logographers 193
 long walls 237
 Lycurgus 163

M

market outside town 200
 Megarian decree 191
 middle, reflexive 146
 Mycenae, insignificance of 150

N

neuter plural 139, 147
 nouns, abstract 109

O

optative and indicative 175 ; in maxims 244
Oratio recta and *obliqua* combined 144

P

parataxis 149, 175
 paronomasia 182
 participle, conditional 186 ; omitted 180 ; circumstantial 137, 259 ; co-ordinate 167 ; predicative use of 144 ; attributive, outside article 155

Pausanias and Persia 255
 Pentecontaetia, the passage so called 225
 Perdiccas of Macedon 198
 Pericles, his forecast of the war 268
 period, forms of 133
 Persian dress 256
 personal construction 166
 Phaeacians and Scheria 174
 piracy 144
 plural verb with neuter plural subject 252
 present for future 246
 Prodicus 208
 pronouns, reflexive 166
 purpose expressed by *τοῦ* with infin. 142
 Pydna and Macedon, 262

R

relative 151; not repeated 183
 repetition of statement in
 negative form 244
 rhetoric obscuring the sense
 209

S

sacrifice, ceremonies of 174
 Salamis, numbers of Greek
 fleet at 213
 Sparta, poverty of 220; out-
 ward appearance of 150; re-
 lation of, to tyrants 163,
 248; expulsion of strangers
 from 271; dilatoriness of
 250
 Spartan character 204, 209,
 218
strategi, number of 199
 subject, divided 141; modi-
 fied 164
 Sybota 197

T

text 184, 138, 141, 142, 148,
 149, 153, 154, 155, 161
 Themistocles 214; walls of
 229, 230; his natural powers
 264; his oratory 265;
 mysterious manner of 227;
 messages of, to Xerxes 214,
 263; at Sparta 214; in
 Epirus 261; gift of towns
 to 265; his grave 265
 Thirty Years' truce 208
 tripod dedicated after Plataea
 257

Troy, siege of 153, 154
 tyranny in Greece 157

V

villages, early Greek 138

Z

Zeus Meilichius 252

THE END

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